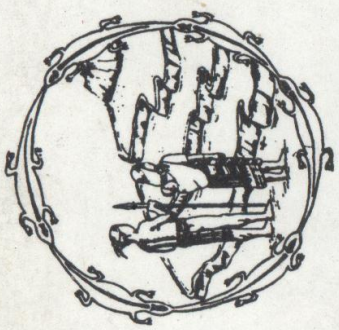
PANTAYAVALAN

Data and Discourse on the Cordillera

An Occasional Publication of the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance Research Commission - Issue No. 1



IN THIS ISSUE:

The Northern Luzon Cordillera and Its Population

The Status of the Majority of the Population in the Cordillera as Indigenous Peoples and National Minorities

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A Note from the Publishers of

PANTATAVALAN

Pantatavalan is an Ibaloy word which can be used to refer to either a venue or a subject of *taval*, discussion or discourse.

The word *pantatavalan* was originally used by the Public Information Commission of the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance to name the radio program that it aired weekly over station DZEQ, Baguio City's *Radyo ng Bayan*. The program has been discontinued, and this has left us, in the CPA's Research Commission, free to appropriate its name for our publication. Like that radio program, our publication aims to serve as a venue of discourse and to provide our audience with subjects for discussion.

Some years ago, the CPA and the Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera set up an Ancestral Domain Research Network to spearhead and coordinate the investigation of issues pertaining to land and natural resources. By farming out sections of its research agenda to interested non-governmental organizations and individual researchers, the ADRN was able to generate plenty of area-specific and regional-level data. Some of the data were sufficiently systematized as to allow the drafting of formal reports and analytical papers. These reports and papers, as well as the unsystematized data, were subjected to collective discussion and analysis in small-group workshops, a network seminar, and a CPA regional conference on land and related concerns. As a result of the said activities, old drafts were revised, and new ones were written up. Few, however, saw publication.

We in the CPA Research Commission take up where the ADRN left off. We are publishing some of the ADRN findings. Aware that much remains to be studied, given the complexity of land-resource issues and other concerns in the region, we are also encouraging and helping to coordinate further research. We feel that social investigation has to be a continuing effort, as also the dissemination of SI results. *Pantatavalan* is our venue for the latter.

Although drafted by individual writers, the reports and papers we are publishing in *Pantatavalan* reflect the orientation which has been evolved, and the collective knowledge which has been accumulated, by the participants in the national democratic movement in the Cordillera. It is, after all, for these participants' benefit that these reports and papers have been prepared.

We would like to acknowledge the assistance extended by several agencies towards the preparation and printing of this first issue of *Pantatavalan*. We are particularly grateful for the financial support given by the Norwegian Church Aid, through the Regional Ecumenical Council for the Cordillera, and by *Dinteg*, the Cordillera Legal Center. #

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THE NORTHERN LUZON CORDILLERA AND ITS POPULATION

The Northern Luzon Cordillera is the most highly elevated region in the Philippines. By Philippine standards, it is a relatively large region, and for a mountain region, it has a rather large population.

The Cordillera is rich in water, mineral, soil, and forest resources. It is also culturally rich — peopled by migrant settlers as well as various indigenous groups who have managed to maintain their distinctness despite their integration into colonial and postcolonial Philippine society.

The Geographic Region

In geography, the word *cordillera* is used to refer to "a series of parallel mountains that run along the backbone of a continent or an island like a spinal cord" [1]. The *Gran Cordillera* which forms the "spinal cord" of Northern Luzon is a set of parallel mountain ranges that run one behind the other with no plains in between [2].

Three major ranges are discernible. The first, called the Malaya Range, runs from north to west. It is characterized by rough, abrupt formations. The second, called the Central Range, is the most massive and, as its name suggests, runs across the center. It is rugged but has no outstanding peaks. The third, called the Polis Range, runs from east to south. It is characterized by high peaks as well as gradually descending foothills. [3]

The Cordillera is a region of contrasts: of towering mountains and deep ravines as well as stretches of valley, a few

of them quite broad and some of them quite flat; of sharp ridges and rugged plateaus as well as gently rolling hills. Slope classifications range from a level 0% to an extremely steep 60%. Elevations are most commonly within the vicinity of 1,000 meters above the mean sea level. But at some points, the elevation is as low as 10 meters and, at others, as high as 2,900 meters.[4]

The Cordillera is not only the highest but also the largest mass of mountains in the country. From its northern tip near the bay at Pasaleng on the border between the provinces of Ilocos Norte and Cagayan, to its southern tip at the edge of the Pangasinan plain, the Cordillera spans a length of about 230 kilometers. From its westernmost point along the edge of the Ilocos coastal plains to its easternmost point along the edge of the Cagayan valley, the Cordillera spans a breadth of about 120 kilometers. Given irregularities of length and breadth, however, the actual land area spanned by the Cordillera is smaller than the foregoing figures suggest; it has been estimated at 17,500 square kilometers or 1.75 million hectares.[5]

The Cordillera spans most of the provinces of Apayao, Kalinga, and Abra, all of the Mountain Province, Ifugao, and Benguet, plus portions of the adjacent provinces. The Cordillera provinces, including the city of Baguio in Benguet, have an aggregate land area of 18,293.68 square kilometers or about 1.83 million hectares [6]:

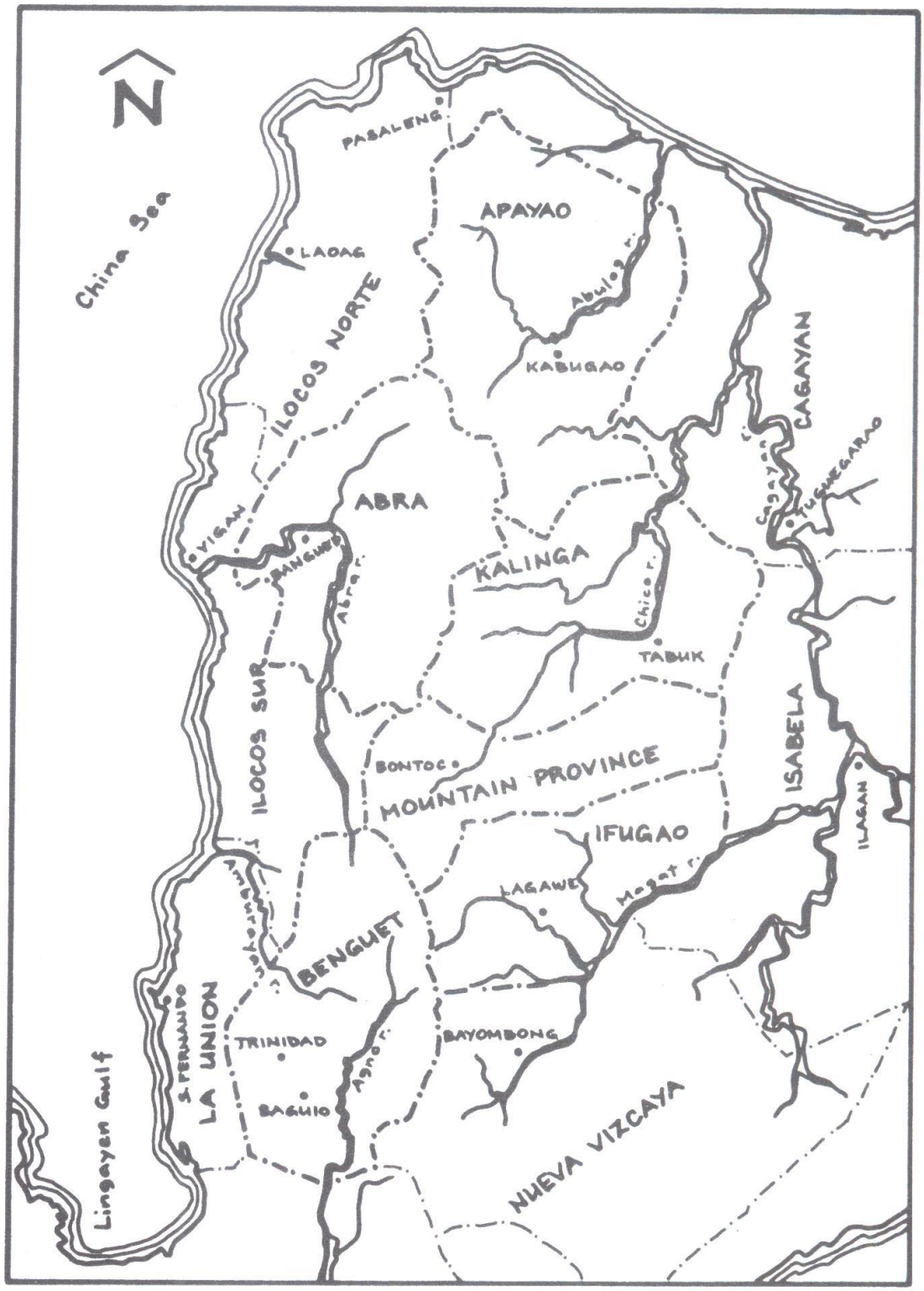
Land Areas of the Cordillera Provinces
Including the City of Baguio

PROVINCE	LAND AREA
Apayao and Kalinga	704,764 hectares
Abra	397,555 hectares
Mountain Province	209,733 hectares
Ifugao	251,788 hectares
Benguet including the city of Baguio	265,538 hectares
TOTAL	1,829,368 hectares

Source: Cordillera Administrative Region Regional Land Use Committee, 1991

Note: The former province of Kalinga-Apayao has recently been split into two provinces, Apayao and Kalinga. But we have not yet been able to find out how many hectares each of the two provinces cover.

The Cordillera Region in Northern Luzon
and the Larger Rivers In and Around the Region



Source:
Map of the Cordillera Region of Northern Luzon
by Ananayo in Scott, 1974

Development plans outlined by the present government call for the exploitation of the natural resources found in these provinces at a scale that is larger and an intensity that is higher than at present. Geologists have, however, advised against this, saying that it would be unsustainable – indeed, unviable – given the fact that the Cordillera is geologically young and the earth here unstable.

The Planning Region and its Natural Resources

Information on the natural resources of the Cordillera as a geographic region is difficult to locate. Natural resources data are usually sought for policy and program planning purposes by both governmental and non-governmental bodies. Thus the data are both collected and organized according to planning units. Data of this nature reveal what follows.

Rivers and hydropower. Almost all the large rivers that flow across the Cagayan valley, and the Ilocos and Pangasinan plains, have their headwaters in the mountains of the Cordillera.

The Abulog and Apayao twin rivers, whose headwaters are in Apayao, drain to the northernmost part of Cagayan province. Running through Cagayan province from Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela is the Rio Grande de Cagayan, whose major tributaries include the Rio Chico de Cagayan and the Magat river. The Chico itself has numerous tributaries – among them the Tanudan, Pasil, and Saltan rivers. Its headwaters and those of its tributaries are in the Mountain Province and Kalinga. As to the Magat, it is a confluence of Ifugao's Alumit, Ibulao, and Lamut rivers. Aside from the Magat, the Mountain Province's Siffu and Mallig rivers also irrigate Isabela.[7]

The Abra de Vigan, which drains to Ilocos Sur, derives its waters from numerous tributaries. Many of these are in Abra province itself – among them, the Tineg river. Other tributaries

originate from other provinces – among them, the Otip in the Mountain Province and the Comillas-Bagayos twin rivers in Benguet. The Amburayan, which also drains to Ilocos Sur and to La Union, has its headwaters and major tributaries in Benguet. So do the Aringay and Naguillan rivers, which drain to La Union. Benguet's Bued river also drains to La Union as well as western Pangasinan. The Agno river courses through eastern Benguet then irrigates the plains of Pangasinan before emptying into the Lingayen Gulf.[8]

The drainage areas of the major Cordillera river basins have been estimated by the National Water Resources Council. Their aggregate is thrice the size of the Cordillera itself [9]:

Drainage Areas of Major Cordillera River Basins

RIVER BASIN	DRAINAGE AREA
Abulog-Apayao	444,500 ha.
Chico	1,049,400 ha.
Magat-Mallig-Siffu	1,366,000 ha.
Abra	512,500 ha.
Amburayan-Naguillan-Aringay	687,400 ha.
Agno-Bued	1,387,700 ha.
TOTAL	5,447,500 ha.

Source:
National Water Resources Council
as cited by Sibol ng Agham at Teknolohiya, undated

The hydropower potential of the Cordillera's rivers has long been recognized. The first hydropower plants in the region were built during the early part of this century, at the time of the American occupation – one at Asin in Tuba, Benguet, to generate electricity for the city of Baguio and another at Ambuclao in Bokod, Benguet, to supply power to the mines of the Benguet Consolidated Mining Company, now Benguet Corporation. During the 1950s, the National Power Corporation built two large hydros at Ambuclao and at Binga in Tinongdan, Itogon, Benguet, to generate an aggregated 175 megawatts of electricity for its Luzon Grid. In the 1980s, the government built a large hydro on the Magat, to harness its waters for cropland irrigation and to generate another 360 megawatts of electricity for the Luzon Grid.

For the same period, the NPC scheduled the completion of other large hydros on various Cordillera rivers, to generate at least 4,257 megawatts. Local resistance, however, forced it to abort these projects.[10]

To support development under the present government's plan for Philippines 2000, the NPC has again been considering the construction of large – or in technical terms, "mega", "big", and "small" – hydros on Cordillera rivers. What with local resistance as well as increasing environmentalist pressure for a shift to mini and micro hydro development, the NPC may never see the implementation of all of the projects it is considering. If it does, however, it will generate an aggregated 3,438 megawatts from the hydropower of the Abulog-Apayao, Chico, Abra, Amburayan, and Agno rivers, and some of their tributaries – or more than a third of Luzon's projected peak energy demand by the year 2005.[11]

Minerals and mines. A mineral belt traverses virtually the entire length of the mountain region. The metallic mineral content of this belt has not yet been fully exploited, nor has it been fully assayed. The belt is known to consist mainly of ore which bears copper and gold, and which yields a by-product of silver during processing. Large mining interests that have successfully or unsuccessfully engaged in its exploitation once established the presence in Benguet of at least 843.91 million metric tons of ore which was primarily copper-bearing and 659.24 million metric tons of ore which was primarily gold-bearing. In the Kalinga-Apayao area, they established the presence of 107.01 million metric tons of gold- and copper-bearing ore, and in Abra 0.32 million metric tons of the same.[12]

But the bigger high-grade lodes of ore in Benguet have already been exhausted by the large mining companies that have operated in the province since the start of this century. The smaller high-grade lodes as well as placer deposits continue to be tapped by pocket miners and gold panners, while the big lodes of lower grade are the current concern of the large mining companies. High-grade lodes and placer deposits are now being tapped exclusively by pocket miners and gold panners in

Apayao, Kalinga, Abra, and the Mountain Province. But transnational mining giants have filed applications for Foreign Technical Assistance Agreements and Mineral Production Sharing Agreements with the government. These will allow them to exploit both the high- and low- grade lodes of ore in the said provinces as well as in Nueva Vizcaya, Pangasinan, and adjacent portions of southern Benguet. Local protest, though, has deterred the approval of most of their applications. The exploitation of ore deposits in the said areas has thus remained in the hands of small miners and local companies.

Despite the shift to low-grade ore extraction among local mining companies, and the concentration of high-grade ore extraction in the hands of small miners, development planners believe that great quantities of gold, silver, and copper can still be produced in the Cordillera. After all, the region's mineral reserves have remained substantial, as can be seen in the following data from existing mines alone **[13]**:

Metallic Mineral Reserves in
Existing Mines in the Cordillera Provinces as of 1993

MINERAL	POSITIVE RESERVES
Primary gold	1,964,060 metric tons
Primary copper	960,634,900 metric tons
Manganese	3,000 metric tons

Source:
Department of Environment and Natural Resources
Bureau of Mines and Geosciences, 1993

No wonder then that planners of the National Economic Development Authority are optimistic. They estimate that an average of 7.35 million grams of processed gold, 12.26 million grams of processed silver, and 26,000 metric tons of copper can be produced yearly, from 1993 to 1998 **[14]**.

As the data from existing mines shows, manganese is among the mineral resources found in the Cordillera. Besides this, zinc, iron, cadmium, molybdenum, and tellurium are also found here. But deposits of non-metallic or so-called agricultural minerals are more extensive, as can be seen below **[15]**:

Non-Metallic Mineral Reserves in
Existing Mines and Quarries in the Cordillera Provinces as of 1993

NON-METALLIC MINERALS	POSITIVE RESERVES
Limestone sources of lime	4,937,312 MT
Limestone sources of material for cement	211,000,000 MT
Sand and gravel	105,200 m^3
Shale	27,300,000 MT
Pyrite	2,567 MT
Silica	551,248,812 MT
Sulphur	200 MT
Talc	200 MT

Source: DENR Bureau of Mines and Geosciences, 1993

The non-metallic minerals listed above and others, such as clay, abound in all provinces. Also, guano is found in the Kalinga-Apayao area, Abra, the Mountain Province, and Benguet. Gypsum, too, is found in the Mountain Province.[16]

Soils and agriculture. The soils of the Cordillera are generally rich. The alluvial soils of river valleys, the shale and sandstone conglomerates of sedimentary hills and mountains, and the pyroclastic, dioritic, and undifferentiated material of volcanic mountains are inherently fertile and of a texture and depth hospitable to plant growth. On steep slopes, however, sedimentary and volcanic soils are prone to excessive drainage and, if undervegetated or overutilized, can become erosive and shallow. The Regional Land Use Committee has estimated that 60.77% of the aggregate land area of the Cordillera provinces is sloped in excess of 50%; it is, therefore, extremely steep. The RLUC has further estimated that 22.95% of this land area is severely erosive and 43.75% moderately erosive. The slope and erosion factor limits agricultural possibilities. Further limitation is imposed by the characteristics of other soils found extensively here: metasedimentary and metavolcanic soils which are rocky, limes which are stony, and clays which are sticky.[17]

These factors, operating on a mountain region with a terrain so broken up that it can host few farms of wide hectarage, help account for the small percentage of land area given to agriculture: croplands constitute only 10.22%, and grasslands, including

pastures, only 0.18% of the aggregate land area of the Cordillera provinces [18].

Nonetheless, the Cordillera remains of strategic value to Philippine agriculture. Its elevation and climate are favorable to the production of rootcrops, vegetables, fruits, cutflowers, and agroforestry products that can be grown only with difficulty in most other parts of the country. While it is far from being self-sufficient in grain, the Cordillera has consistently produced vegetables and fruits in surplus, and is being targeted by the NEDA for development as a major producer of exportable processed foods, cutflowers, and agroforestry products.[19]

Forests. The sustainability of agricultural as well as hydropower development in the region – indeed, in the entirety of Northern Luzon – rests heavily on the regeneration and protection of Cordillera forests. Three kinds of forest grow on the Cordillera: dipterocarp rainforests on elevations of up to 900 meters; pine forests on elevations of 900 meters to 1,500 meters; mossy oak forests on elevations of 1,500 meters and upward [20].

As of the early 1980s, forests occupied at least 1.20 million hectares or 68.57% of the mountain region. Logged for pine and hardwoods like lauan, molave, mahogany, narra, and tanguile, or cleared for agricultural purposes, the forests now occupy only 846,596 hectares or 46.28% of the aggregate land area of the Cordillera provinces [21]:

Hectarage Given to Actual Land Uses in the Cordillera as of 1991

LAND USE	APAYAO, KALINGA	ABRA	MOUNTAIN PROVINCE	IFUGAO	BENGUET	AGGREGATE
Woodland	367,714	195,942	98,292	65,862	118,786	846,596
Shrubland	237,170	155,055	87,609	160,744	117,785	758,363
Grassland	909	—	—	2,245	150	3,304
Cropland	90,794	30,793	21,855	19,391	24,098	186,931
Others	8,177	15,765	1,977	3,536	4,719	34,174
TOTAL	704,764	397,555	209,733	251,778	25,538	1,829,368

Source: CAR Regional Land Use Committee, 1991

Percentage Given to Actual Land Uses in theCordillera as of 1991

LAND USE	APAYAO, KALINGA	ABRA	MOUNTAIN PROVINCE	IFUGAO	BENGUET	AGGREGATE
Woodland	52.18	49.29	46.87	26.16	44.73	46.28
Shrubland	33.65	39.00	41.77	63.84	44.36	41.45
Grassland	0.13	——	——	0.89	0.06	0.18
Cropland	12.88	7.75	10.42	7.70	9.08	10.22
Others	1.16	3.97	0.94	1.40	1.78	1.87
TOTAL*	100.00	100.01	100.00	99.99	100.01	100.00

Source: CAR Regional Land Use Committee, 1991

Note: Errors (*) due to rounding of figures before percentaging.

The Administrative Region and its Population

Data on the Cordillera's population are organized according to administrative boundaries – some set during the Spanish and American colonial periods, others designated only recently. Although simple enumerations of population reach down to the barangay level, more substantive survey data are localized only to the municipal level. Simple enumerations are summarized at the municipal, provincial, and regional levels; more substantive survey data, at the provincial and regional levels. Since the 1970s, the enumerations have been undertaken every five years, while the surveys have been conducted only every ten years.

The summaries of the simple enumerations may be used to establish how thickly or sparsely populated the present Cordillera Administrative Region and its provinces are, and in which of the region's municipalities concentrations of population may be found. Since these summaries are done for all censuses undertaken as far back as 1903, they may be used in conjunction with historical information to trace the growth and the movement of the population through the years.

The more substantive data include municipal-, provincial-, and regional- level estimates of the population categorized according to mother tongues. These may be used to gain insight

on the current ethnolinguistic character of the Cordillera Administrative Region and its local units.

One must stress that the said estimates do not present a full picture of the ethnic make-up of the population. Based on a probability survey of 10% of the population, the estimates ought to be quite accurate. The survey, however, does not employ the more scientifically established categories – of mother tongues, dialects, and sister tongues – that are used by linguists. Even if they were, a problem would remain: linguistic affiliation would not necessarily be representative of ethnic identification. Most of the ethnolinguistic categories applied to the Cordillera peoples today have, after all, not been evolved by the peoples themselves but are a product of colonial history.

Perhaps the more analytical papers in this series can deal more extensively with history and the problem of discrepancy between ethnolinguistic categories, on the one hand, and ethnic identification as expressed in community self-ascriptions, on the other. The present section of this report will simply concern itself with the ethnolinguistic categories as they relate to population patterns within the Cordillera's administrative boundaries.

These administrative boundaries have not been static or stable. As currently designated, they conform with neither the actual geographic boundaries of the Cordillera nor the territorial boundaries defined, through occupation, by the region's indigenous peoples. Once more, this situation is a product of colonial – and postcolonial – history.

Administrative boundaries. At least one unit of local administration within the Cordillera region has its origins in the 16th century. The first Cordillera town was founded in 1599, in Bangued, as a sort of mission in what is now known as the province of Abra.[22]

A few other units of local administration were established in the 18th century, along the fringes of the mountain region. From the 1700s to the 1750s, Spanish colonial forces tried to convert and subjugate scattered, semisedentary, and pagan Cordillera

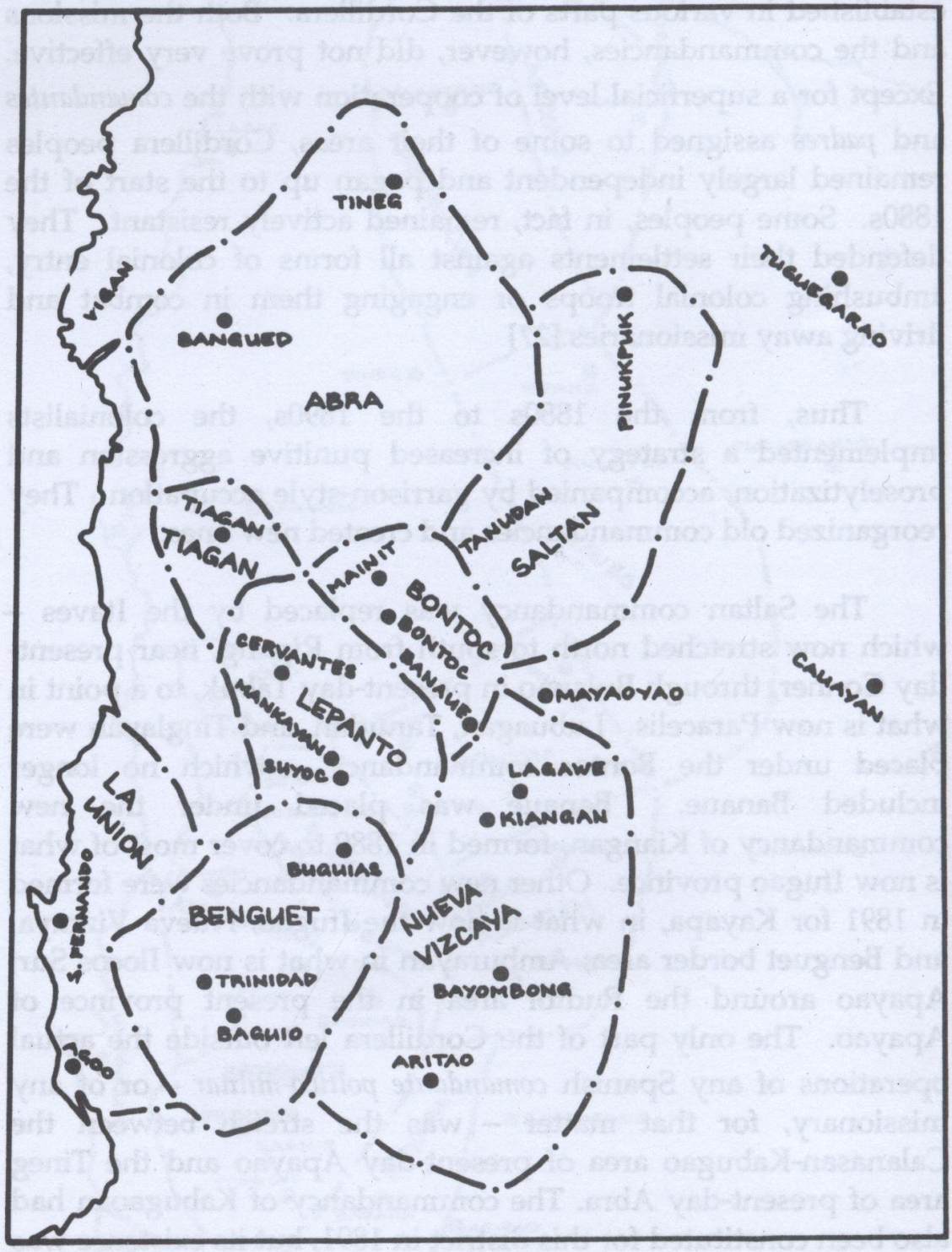
populations by settling them permanently in areas that could more easily be administered from the lowlands. Colonially administered settlements were successfully established among the inhabitants of the lower Abra river valley and among certain peoples in the area where the Cordillera connects with the Caraballo mountain range, in what is now the province of Nueva Vizcaya.[23]

But Nueva Vizcaya was established as a province only in 1840, for the purpose of protecting the settlements of subjugated Christians against frequent attack from their independent neighbors on the Cordillera and the Caraballo. The province was placed under a *gobernador politico-militar*. A province under military governorship was also created in central Abra in 1846. Another was established in 1850, in La Union, whose population then was more Igorot than Ilocano. This province included a district called Benguet; it covered the present Trinidad valley and neighboring areas. The district had been "pacified" in the 1830s by Guillermo Galvey, the famed – or infamous – *comandante del pais de Igorrotes y las partidas del norte de Pangasinan*.[24]

Galvey had engaged in a pacification campaign that was sustained, wide-ranging, and, in some areas, markedly violent. The campaign was not totally successful, but it provided the Spanish colonial government of the Philippines with some of the bases for establishing the *comandancias politico-militares* through which it hoped to bring the Cordillera under fuller control.[25]

The first commandancies were formed in the 1840s and 1850s: the Tiagan commandancy, formed in 1847 to cover the area that now comprises the Abra, Ilocos Sur, and Mountain Province triboundary; the Bontoc commandancy, formed in 1852 to cover the area that stretched, north to southeast, from Mainit to Banaue; the Lepanto commandancy, also formed in 1852 to cover the area that stretched, north to south, from Besao to Suyoc; a separate and larger Benguet commandancy, formed in 1854 to cover the area that stretched, north to south, from Buguias to Itogon; the Saltan commandancy, formed in 1859 to cover the area

The Politico-Military Districts and Provinces of the Cordillera in 1860



Source:
Map of the Military Provinces and Ditricts in the Cordillera in 1860
by Ananayo in Scott, 1974

that stretched, north to southwest, from Pinukpuk to Tinglayan.[26]

In addition to the commandancies, missions were established in various parts of the Cordillera. Both the missions and the commandancies, however, did not prove very effective. Except for a superficial level of cooperation with the *comandantes* and *padres* assigned to some of their areas, Cordillera peoples remained largely independent and pagan up to the start of the 1880s. Some peoples, in fact, remained actively resistant. They defended their settlements against all forms of colonial entry, ambushing colonial troops or engaging them in combat and driving away missionaries.[27]

Thus, from the 1880s to the 1890s, the colonialists implemented a strategy of increased punitive aggression and proselytization, accompanied by garrison-style occupation. They reorganized old commandancies and created new ones.

The Saltan commandancy was replaced by the Itaves – which now stretched north to south from Ripang, near present-day Conner, through Bulanao in present-day Tabuk, to a point in what is now Paracelis. Lubuagan, Tanudan, and Tinglayan were placed under the Bontoc commandancy – which no longer included Banaue. Banaue was placed under the new commandancy of Kiangan, formed in 1889 to cover most of what is now Ifugao province. Other new commandancies were formed in 1891 for Kayapa, in what is now the Ifugao, Nueva Vizcaya, and Benguet border area; Amburayan in what is now Ilocos Sur; Apayao around the Pudtol area in the present province of Apayao. The only part of the Cordillera left outside the actual operations of any Spanish *comandante poltico-militar* – or of any missionary, for that matter – was the stretch between the Calanasan-Kabugao area of present-day Apayao and the Tineg area of present-day Abra. The commandancy of Kabúgaoan had also been constituted for this district in 1891, but its existence was apparently confined to paper.[28]

The Politico-Military Commandancies of the Cordillera in 1895

Source:
Map of the Politico-Military Commandancies of the Cordillera in 1895
by Ananayo in Scott, 1974

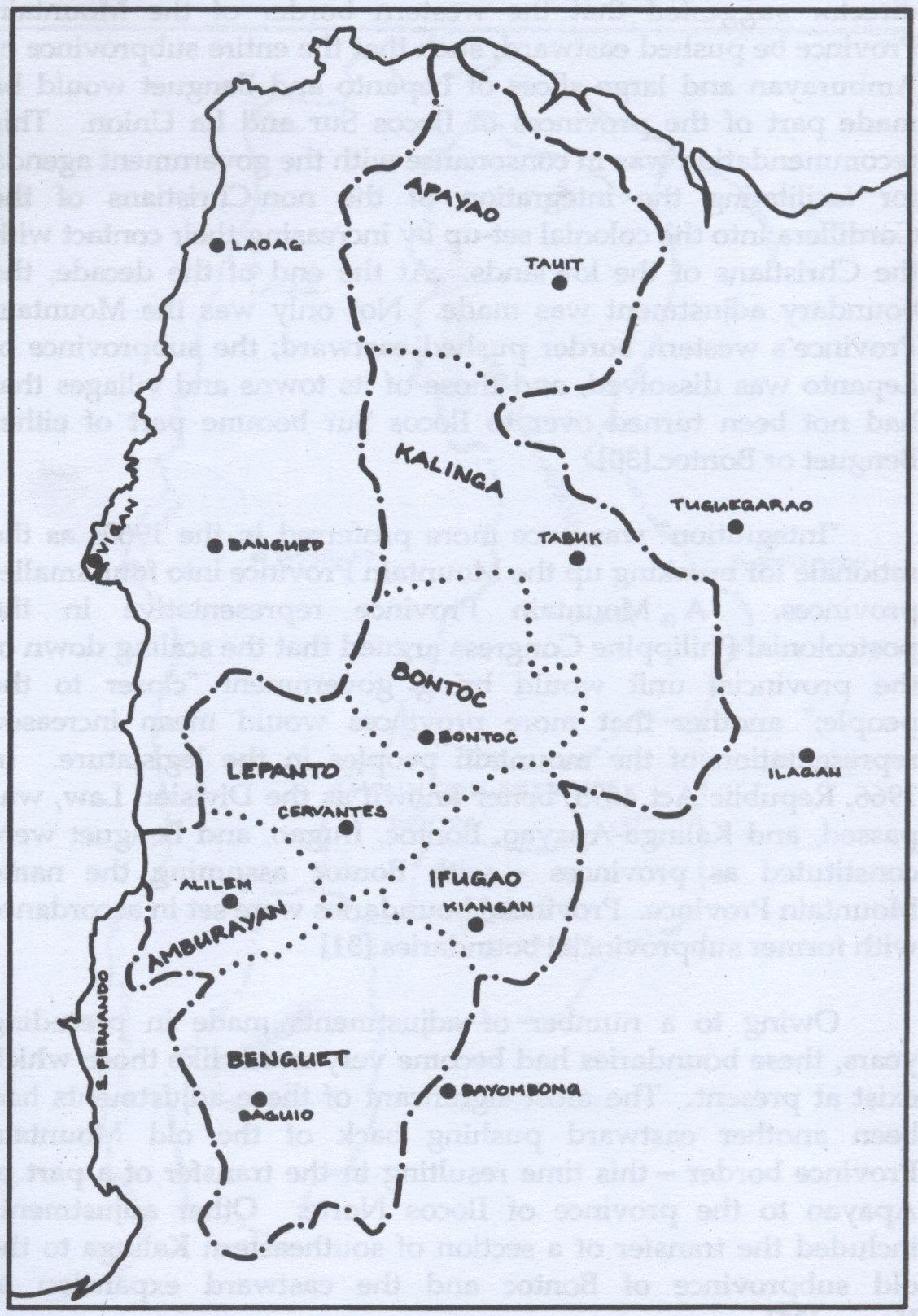
The success of the new strategy in steadily bringing Cordillera populations under Spanish colonial governance was preempted by the outbreak of the Philippine revolution in 1896. The commandancies that were formed as part of this strategy became the basis for the formation of districts of local revolutionary governance under the First Philippine Republic.

After the Americans defeated the Filipino revolutionaries and assumed the task of governing the Cordillera, they set new administrative boundaries. In the process of adjusting and readjusting these, however, the Americans only ended up with delineations that closely approximated those of the Spanish commandancies. The Mountain Province which the Americans constituted in 1908 as a "special" province had for its subprovincial units the following: Apayao, whose boundaries closely approximated those of the old Spanish commandancies of Apayao and Kabugaoan; Kalinga, whose boundaries closely approximated those of the commandancy of Itaves; Bontoc, the commandancy of Bontoc; Ifugao, the commandancy of Kiangan; Benguet, the commandancies of Kayapa and Benguet; Lepanto, the commandancies of Lepanto and Tiagan; Amburayan, the commandancy of Amburayan. The Americans retained Abra, La Union, and Nueva Vizcaya as units separate from the Mountain Province – despite the fact that Abra geographically and culturally belonged with this province, and that considerable portions of the population of La Union and Nueva Vizcaya then consisted of mountain peoples.**[29]**

Besides putting together a Mountain Province, the American colonialists organized the Cordillera into townships and established some of these as centers from which they could administer the subprovinces.

During the second decade of the Mountain Province's existence, a major adjustment of its boundaries took place. This was largely due to recommendations made in 1917 by the director of the American colonial government's Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. Arguing that it would facilitate commerce between foothill areas and the plains, and that it would create no major

The Mountain Province as Constituted in 1908



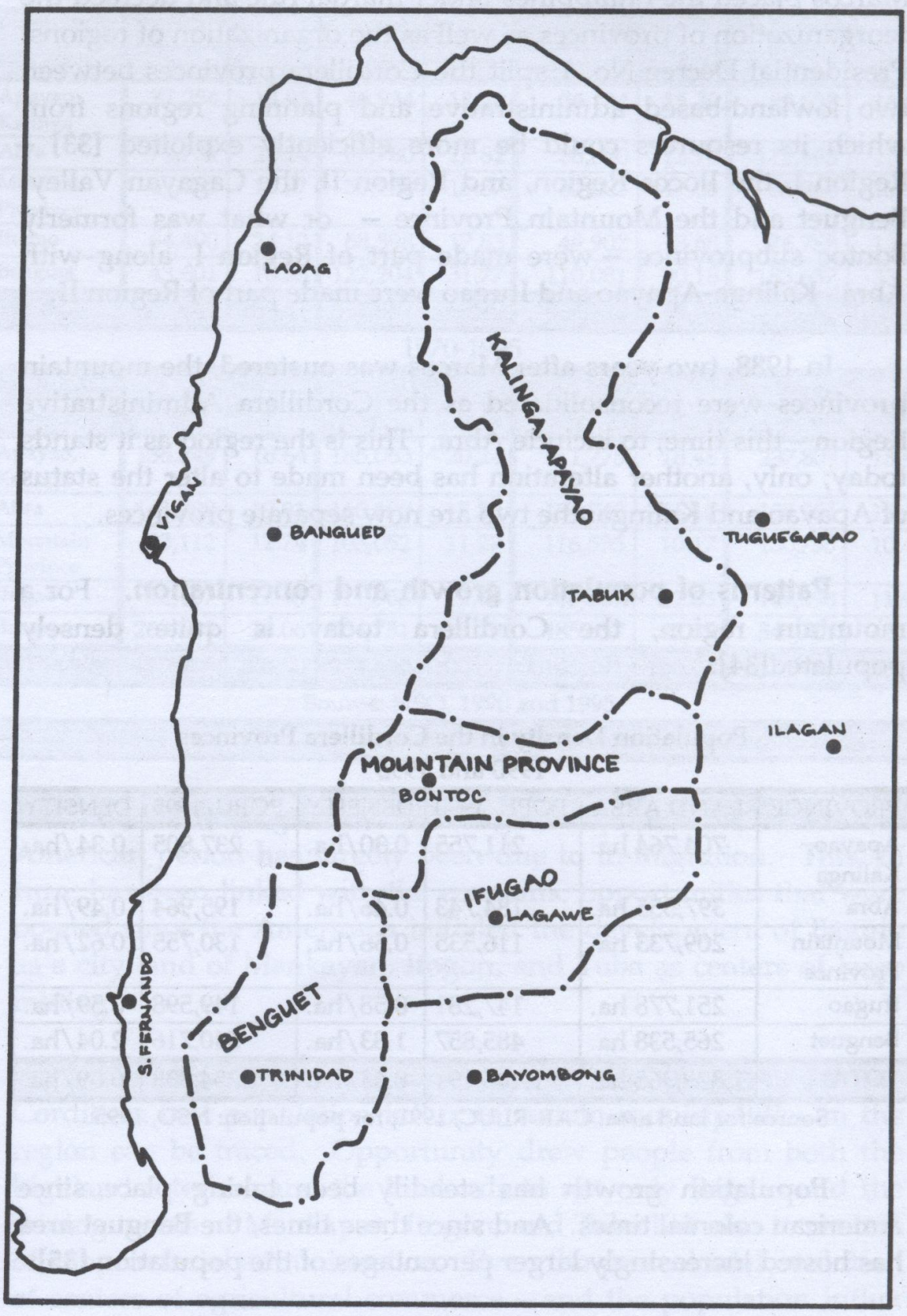
Source:
Map of the Mountain Province in 1908
by Ngai in Fry, 1983

administrative problems – since the villages and towns that would be affected were already quite "civilized" – the BNCT director suggested that the western border of the Mountain Province be pushed eastward, such that the entire subprovince of Amburayan and large slices of Lepanto and Benguet would be made part of the provinces of Ilocos Sur and La Union. This recommendation was in consonance with the government agenda for facilitating the integration of the non-Christians of the Cordillera into the colonial set-up by increasing their contact with the Christians of the lowlands. At the end of the decade, the boundary adjustment was made. Not only was the Mountain Province's western border pushed eastward; the subprovince of Lepanto was dissolved, and those of its towns and villages that had not been turned over to Ilocos Sur became part of either Benguet or Bontoc.[30]

"Integration" was once more proferred in the 1960s as the rationale for breaking up the Mountain Province into four smaller provinces. A Mountain Province representative in the postcolonial Philippine Congress argued that the scaling down of the provincial unit would bring government "closer to the people;" another that more provinces would mean increased representation of the mountain peoples in the legislature. In 1966, Republic Act 4695, better known as the Division Law, was passed, and Kalinga-Apayao, Bontoc, Ifugao, and Benguet were constituted as provinces – with Bontoc assuming the name Mountain Province. Provincial boundaries were set in accordance with former subprovincial boundaries.[31]

Owing to a number of adjustments made in preceding years, these boundaries had become very much like those which exist at present. The most significant of these adjustments had been another eastward pushing back of the old Mountain Province border – this time resulting in the transfer of a part of Apayao to the province of Ilocos Norte. Other adjustments included the transfer of a section of southeastern Kalinga to the old subprovince of Bontoc and the eastward expansion of Ifugao.[32]

The Cordillera Provinces as Constituted in 1966



Source:
Map of the Mountain Province since 1966
by Ngai in Fry, 1983

The next major change occurred in 1972, when Ferdinand Marcos placed the Philippines under martial rule and decreed the reorganization of provinces as well as the organization of regions. Presidential Decree No. 1 split the Cordillera provinces between two lowland-based administrative and planning regions from which its resources could be more efficiently exploited [33] – Region I, the Ilocos Region, and Region II, the Cagayan Valley. Benguet and the Mountain Province – or what was formerly Bontoc subprovince – were made part of Region I, along with Abra. Kalinga-Apayao and Ifugao were made part of Region II.

In 1988, two years after Marcos was oustered, the mountain provinces were reconsolidated as the Cordillera Administrative Region – this time, to include Abra. This is the region as it stands today; only, another alteration has been made to alter the status of Apayao and Kalinga: the two are now separate provinces.

Patterns of population growth and concentration. For a mountain region, the Cordillera today is quite densely populated[34]:

Population Density in the Cordillera Provinces
1990 and 1995

PROVINCE	LAND AREA	POPU. 1990	DENSITY	POPU. 1995	DENSITY
Apayao, Kalinga	704,764 ha.	211,755	0.30/ha.	237,805	0.34/ha.
Abra	397,555 ha.	184,743	0.46/ha.	195,964	0.49/ha.
Mountain Province	209,733 ha.	116,535	0.56/ha.	130,755	0.62/ha.
Ifugao	251,778 ha.	147,281	0.58/ha.	149,598	0.59/ha.
Benguet	265,538 ha.	485,857	1.83/ha.	540,716	2.04/ha.
TOTAL	1,829,368 ha.	1,146,191	0.63/ha.	1,254,838	0.69/ha.

Source for land area: CAR-RLUC, 1991; for population: NSO, 1995

Population growth has steadily been taking place since American colonial times. And since these times, the Benguet area has hosted increasingly larger percentages of the population [35]:

Population in Areas that Correspond to the Present Cordillera Provinces
1918-1960

PROVINCE	1918		1939		1948		1960	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Apayao, Kalinga	37,254	13.95	46,934	12.20	56,134	15.39	89,528	16.25
Abra	72,731	27.24	87,780	22.82	86,600	23.74	115,193	20.90
Mountain Province	49,055	18.37	59,138	15.37	62,003	17.00	85,866	15.58
Ifugao	64,400	24.12	68,598	17.83	49,902	13.68	76,788	13.94
Benguet	43,601	16.33	122,204	31.77	110,081	30.18	183,657	33.33
TOTAL*	267,041	100.01	384,654	99.99	364,720	99.99	551,032	100.00

1970-1995

PROVINCE	1970		1980		1990		1995	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Apayao, Kalinga	136,249	18.64	185,063	20.24	211,775	18.48	237,805	18.95
Abra	145,508	19.91	160,198	17.52	184,743	16.12	195,964	15.62
Mountain Province	93,112	12.74	103,052	11.27	116,535	10.17	130,755	10.42
Ifugao	92,487	12.65	111,368	12.18	147,281	12.85	149,598	11.92
Benguet	263,550	36.06	354,751	38.79	485,857	42.39	540,716	43.09
TOTAL*	730,906	100.00	914,432	100.00	1,146,191	100.01	1,254,838	100.00

Source: NSO, 1990 and 1995

Note: Errors (*) due to rounding of figures before percentaging.

The steady growth of Benguet's population since the American period has largely been due to in-migration. This, in turn, has been linked with the economic opportunities that were opened since the Americans initiated the development of Baguio as a city, and of Mankayan, Itogon, and Tuba as centers of large mining.

It is to American economic and political programs for the Cordillera that population influx to certain municipalities in the region can be traced. Opportunity drew people from both the highland interiors and the lowlands to not only Baguio and the mining towns of Mankayan, Itogon, and Tuba but also to centers of subprovincial administration. Even the postcolonial evolution of centers of agricultural commerce – and the population influx which accompanied this – started with development processes which the American-authored programs triggered. Among these

was an agricultural program which led to the development of parts of Benguet and what was then Lepanto into areas of commercial-scale vegetable production. This program also led to the establishment of an agricultural colony on the swamplands of Kalinga's Tabuk plain, which had previously been unoccupied. Another program was road-building. Initially designed to stimulate trade and contact between the non-Christians of the Cordillera and their Christian neighbors in the lowlands – and so to facilitate the integration of the non-Christian Cordillerans in colonial society – this program later led to the opening of low-lying portions of Kalinga, Apayao, and Ifugao to migrant homesteaders from Lepanto, Bontoc, and the lowlands. The designation of homesteading areas also stimulated a downward migration of populations indigenous to neighboring mountainous areas.[36]

In postcolonial times, some of the Americans' centers of subprovincial administration became provincial capitals, while others were replaced by new capital locations. These new capitals also attracted in-migration.

During the 1950s, the postcolonial government embarked on a program of tourism development [37], and certain municipalities in the Cordillera started to develop as tourist centers. Again, the opportunities this opened stimulated migration – notably from the interior towns of the Cordillera provinces.

Resulting patterns of population concentration are reflected by the following data, which show that the city and center towns have become host to a steadily increasing percentage of the region's population [38]:

Population in Areas that Correspond to the Present City (1), Capital Towns (2), and Centers of Agricultural Trade (3), Mining (4), and Tourism (5) in the Cordillera

1918-1960

CITY/TOWN/CENTER	1918	1939	1948	1960
Tabuk (2,3)	4,079	3,343	7,376	21,261
Bangued (2,3)	14,383	15,287	14,792	19,368
Sagada (5)	6,189	7,851	8,472	11,548
Bontoc (2)	13,948	14,284	15,005	16,301
Banaue (5)	17,013	17,127	15,311	17,877
Lagawe (2)	*	13,204	12,424	13,694
Mankayan (4)	2,977	6,865	5,742	13,812
Buguias (3)	2,611	5,691	5,894	8,658
Trinidad (2,3)	3,013	6,554	7,994	12,415
Baguio (1)**	5,464	24,117	29,262	50,436
Itogon (4)	3,167	35,179	16,970	32,742
Tuba (4)	2,764	5,936	4,888	9,307
AGGREGATE	*	155,138	144,130	227,419
REGIONAL TOTAL	145,186	384,654	364,720	551,032
PERCENT OF REGION	*	40.41%	39.52%	41.27%

1970-1995

CITY/TOWN/CENTER	1970	1980	1990	1995
Tabuk (2,3)	28,016	42,768	57,200	63,507
Bangued (2,3)	25,587	28,666	34,184	35,450
Sagada (5)	12,947	9,460	10,353	10,354
Bontoc (2)	16,901	17,091	17,716	21,192
Banaue (5)	20,268	22,900	16,943	20,514
Lagawe (2)	14,085	13,948	12,437	14,898
Mankayan (4)	21,780	25,684	32,889	34,699
Buguias (3)	12,402	17,509	25,236	28,034
Trinidad (2,3)	18,551	28,713	48,523	63,089
Baguio (1)**	84,538	119,009	183,142	226,883
Itogon (4)	39,834	47,605	61,773	47,781
Tuba (4)	17,939	30,449	39,635	39,589
AGGREGATE	312,843	403,802	540,031	605,990
REGIONAL TOTAL	730,906	914,432	1,146,191	1,254,838
PERCENT OF REGION	42.80%	44.10%	47.12%	48.29%

Source: NSO, 1990, 1995

Note:

* In 1918, the populations of Kiangan, Lagawe, and Hungduan were enumerated jointly as these areas then constituted a single township.

** Baguio (urban) population as percentage of region's population: 1918 - 2.05%; 1939 - 6.27%; 1948 - 8.02%; 1960 - 9.15%; 1970 - 11.57%; 1980 - 13.01%; 1990 - 15.98%; 1995 - 18.08%.

Resulting changes in the ethnic complexion of the center towns and homesteading areas will be dealt with later. For the moment, it may be important to note that population movement in the region has remained predominantly a flow towards the city and the center towns, as evidenced by the higher rates of migration into the said areas than to the provinces in general [39]:

Population Flux into Cordillera Provinces as Reflected by the Residence Five Years Previously of the 1990 Household Population Five Years Old And Above

PROVINCE	HOUSEHOLD POPULATION	PREVIOUSLY RESIDING IN OTHER PROVINCE/COUNTRY	
		n	%
Apayao and Kalinga	179,502	3,800	2.12
Abra	160,601	3,009	1.87
Mountain Province	99,638	2,837	2.85
Ifugao	125,053	2,640	2.11
Benguet	411,941	25,810	6.26
REGIONAL TOTAL	976,735	38,096	3.90

Population Flux into the Cordillera's City (1), Capital Towns (2), and Centers of Agricultural Trade (3), Mining (4), and Tourism (5) as Reflected by the Residence Five Years Previously of the 1990 Household Population Five Years Old and Above

CITY/TOWN/ CENTER	HOUSEHOLD POPULATION	PREVIOUSLY RESIDING IN OTHER TOWN/PROVINCE/COUNTRY	
		n	%
Tabuk (2,3)	47,601	2,759	5.80
Bangued (2,3)	29,813	1,419	4.76
Sagada (5)	8,943	284	3.18
Bontoc (2)	15,425	419	2.72
Banaue (5)	14,289	240	1.68
Lagawe (2)	10,555	300	2.84
Mankayan (4)	26,763	2,162	8.08
Bugias (3)	20,749	413	1.99
Trinidad (2,3)	41,635	5,173	12.42
Baguio (1)	157,177	19,712	12.54
Itogon (4)	51,130	2,492	4.87
Tuba (4)	33,372	1,719	5.15
AGGREGATE	457,452	37,092	8.11
REGIONAL TOTAL	976,735	52,990	
PERCENT OF REGION	45.83%	70.00%	

Source: NSO, 1990

The ethnolinguistic character of the population. Population movements have certainly changed the ethnic complexion of the entire region, its provinces, and its municipalities. The ethnolinguistic character of the Cordillera population is now quite different from what it was at the time that David P. Barrows, the first chief of the Americans' Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, made the following identification of what he called "culture areas" in the Cordillera region:

> ...the extreme northernmost...called 'Apayao'. South of this was that of the 'Kalingas'..... the Tinggian, on the middle course of the Abra River..... South of the Kalinga, the Bontok. On the west side of the Bontok people...the Lepanto...area...(whose) population is somewhat mixed...but which I think is mainly Kankanai, who also people the northern part of Benguet...(and) the entire valley of the river Amburayan..... (in southern Benguet) the Nabaloi or Ibaloi. Southeast...the Ifugao.**[40]**

The "eight or nine" areas which Barrows identified – Apayao, Kalinga, the central Abra river valley, Bontoc, Lepanto and the Amburayan river valley, northern Benguet, southern Benguet, and Ifugao – are today no longer homogeneous culture areas. Barrows' seven culture groups, however – the Apayao, Kalinga, Tinggian, Bontok, Kankanai or Kankanaey, Ibaloi or Ibaloy, and Ifugao – remain the majority in the Cordillera provinces. And Barrows' culture categories are still the ethnolinguistic categories officially used these days, despite more recent ethnological and linguistic findings that have proven these to be inaccurate.

The tabulated data that follow **[41]** show how Barrows' Apayao, Kalinga, Tinggian, Bontok, Kankanaey, Ibaloy, and Ifugao are now distributed in the Cordillera provinces, among the Ilocano and other migrants who have come to live with them. The data is also reflective of Barrows' inaccuracies – evidenced by the presence of thousands of respondents whom the survey teams of the National Statistics Office have been unable to categorize.

The Distribution of the 1990 Household Population in the Cordillera Provinces According to Mother Tongue

MOTHER TONGUE	APAYAO AND KALINGA		ABRA		MOUNTAIN PROVINCE		IFUGAO		BENGUET		REGIONAL TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Apayao	24,844	11.75	—	—	10	0.00	—	—	281	0.06	25,135	2.20
Kalinga	83,963	39.72	—	—	1,746	1.50	—	—	2,527	0.52	88,236	7.73
Tinggian	622	0.29	39,016	21.15	53	0.04	73	0.05	343	0.07	40,107	3.51
Bontok	457	0.22	5	0.00	15,723	13.53	83	0.06	6,618	1.37	22,886	2.00
Kankanaey	8,389	3.97	9	0.00	59,987	51.64	201	0.14	118,908	24.66	187,494	16.43
Ibaloy	435	0.20	5	0.00	185	0.16	85	0.06	86,052	17.85	86,762	7.60
Ifugao	28	0.01	16	0.00	385	0.33	122,260	83.15	7,030	1.46	129,719	11.37
Iloko	80,149	37.92	136,326	73.91	6,628	5.70	20,328	13.82	170,936	35.46	414,367	36.31
Ibanag	2,367	1.12	77	0.04	41	0.04	68	0.05	533	0.11	3,086	0.27
Pangasinan	228	0.11	137	0.07	147	0.13	59	0.04	16,998	3.52	17,569	1.54
Tagalog	1,766	0.84	1,172	0.64	241	0.21	899	0.61	42,780	8.87	46,858	4.11
Other local 1*	270	0.13	5,157	2.80	27,141	23.36	1,350	0.92	9,980	2.07	43,898	3.85
Other local 2**	6,297	2.98	2,035	1.10	2,424	2.09	1,256	0.85	10,826	2.24	22,838	2.00
Foreign	67	0.03	49	0.03	170	0.15	202	0.14	4,403	0.91	4,891	0.43
Not stated	1,509	0.71	435	0.24	1,290	1.11	166	0.11	3,895	0.81	7,295	0.64
TOTAL***	211,391	100.00	184,439	99.99	116,171	99.98	147,030	100.00	482,110	99.98	1,141,141	99.99

Source: NSO, 1990

Note:

* In its municipal-level enumerations, the NSO lists no persons in the municipalities of Lacub and Tineg, Abra, whose mother tongue is Tinggian. Yet these municipalities are part of Barrows' Tinggian culture area. The NSO does list an aggregated 5,145 persons in these municipalities whose mother tongues are unspecified "other local dialects".

  Again, the NSO lists no persons in the municipalities of Sadanga, Barlig, Natonin, and Paracelis, Mountain Province, whose mother tongue is either Bontok or Kalinga. Yet Barlig is part of Barrows' Bontok culture area, and Sadanga, Natonin, and Paracelis are Bontok-Kalinga border areas. The NSO lists an aggregate of 26,912 persons in these areas whose mother tongues are unspecified "other local dialects". It is possible that they are persons who consider their mother tongues to be distinct from either Kalinga or Bontok. We know that local people in the said areas often refer to themselves by the names of their core villages.

  All NSO listings of *unspecified* "other local dialects" are reflected above as *Other local 1* entries. In the municipal-level NSO enumerations, these entries are largest for the aforementioned municipalities, and are also considerably large for the Benguet municipalities of Kabayan (3,235), Buguias (1,660), and Bokod (1,611). Current ethnographic studies show that a people who may be referred to as Kalanguya inhabit parts of Kabayan as well as the entire municipality of Tinoc, Ifugao; that a people who may be called Mandek-ey are found in Buguias; that a people who may be called Karaw live in northeastern Bokod.

  Kalanguya presence, is however, not reflected in the entry for Tinoc, whose population is reported as being largely Ifugao (7,951 out of 8,256 persons).

** *Other local 2* entries reflect segments of the population whose mother tongues are *specified* by the NSO, but who number less than 3,000 people regionwide – that is to say, eight (Mansaka) to 2,976 (Gaddang).

***Errors due to the rounding of figures before percentaging.

Data from the municipal-level NSO survey of the distribution of the population according to mother tongues reflect the current ethnic complexion of Cordillera municipalities. Using this NSO enumeration along with historical and current ethnographic information, one *might* make the following conclusions [42]:

1. Within the province of Apayao:

Indigenous peoples who are categorized as Apayao or Isneg have remained the majority in the municipalities of Calanasan and Kabugao, on the mountainous western side of the province.

Other municipalities in areas historically associated with the semisedentary Isneg and the mobile Aggay or Negrito – namely, Luna, Pudtol, Sta. Marcela, and Flora on the low-lying eastern side of the province – are now predominantly occupied by Ilocano.

Indigenous Isneg and Kalinga together constitute only a little more than a quarter of the population of the municipality of Conner, in the low-lying southern part of the province. Ilocano constitute the majority.

It should perhaps be noted that Luna, Pudtol, Sta. Marcela, Flora, and Conner were all declared settler-homesteading areas during American colonial and postcolonial times. Many of the settlers were Ilocano.

2. In the province of Kalinga:

Indigenous peoples who are categorized as Kalinga have remained the majority in the municipalities of Balbalan, Pasil, Lubuagan, Tanudan, and Tinglayan on the mountainous western side of the province, as well as in hilly Pinukpuk, in the northeast.

Ilocano are dominant in the low-lying southeast – in Rizal and Tabuk, some parts of which were once unoccupied, and other parts of which were once associated with the Kalinga and the

Gaddang. The Rizal-Tabuk area was opened to settler-homesteading during American colonial and postcolonial times.

3. Within the province of Abra:

Indigenous Isneg, and the Itneg or Tinggian whom they traditionally mingle with, remain the majority in the municipality of Tineg in the mountainous northeastern part of the province which borders Apayao.

Indigenous Tinggian remain the majority in the municipalities of Lacub, Licuan-Baay, Malibcong, Daguioman, Boliney, Tubo, Sallapadan, Bucloc, and Luba on the mountainous eastern side of the province, and in Villaviciosa on the low-lying western side.

Large Tinggian populations — of over a thousand — are also reported in the municipalities of Lagayan, Lagangilang, Langiden, Pennarubia, and Manabo in the low-lying west. Small or no Tinggian populations are reported in the municipalities of Danglas, San Juan, La Paz, Dolores, Bangued, Tayum, Pidigan, Bucay, San Quintin, San Isidro, and Pilar, all in the west.

Ilocano dominate the western municipalities. This can be accounted for by the fact that Ilocano and lower-Abra Tinggian have shared occupation of western Abra since Spanish colonial times.

4. Within the Mountain Province:

The Mountain Province remains predominantly occupied by its indigenous peoples.

Sadanga, a municipality in the mountainous north-central section of the province, is predominantly occupied by indigenous peoples who prefer to call themselves by the names of their core villages — for example, Sadanga, Belwang, Sacasacan, Saclit, Betwagan, Anabel;

Bontoc, the municipality at the mountainous and hilly center of the province, is predominantly occupied by the indigenous Bontok.

Barlig, in the mountainous and hilly south-central section of the province, is predominantly occupied by peoples who prefer to call themselves by the names of their core villages — namely, Barlig, Kadaklan, and Lias.

Peoples who refer to themselves as Balangao, Madukayan, and Sakki occupy the low-lying eastern municipalities of Natonin and Paracelis.

The Northern Kankanaey — who also call themselves Western Bontok or Iaplay — occupy the municipalities of Besao, Sagada, Sabangan, Tadian, and Bauko, on the mountainous western side of the province.

5. Within the province of Ifugao:

Indigenous Ifugao peoples — who also call themselves Tuali and Ayangan — remain the majority in the mountainous and hilly municipalities of Mayoyao, Aguinaldo, Banaue, Hungduan, Hingyon, Lagawe, Kiangan, and Asipulo.

Indigenous Ifugao constitute a little more than half the population of Lamut, in the low-lying south. Ilocano constitute most of the other half of the said municipality's population.

Ilocano now constitute the great majority in the municipality of Potia, in the low-lying east. Potia – along with Lamut – was opened to settler-homesteading in American colonial times.

The Kalanguya people indigenous to mountainous Tinoc remain the majority in this municipality, located near the province's southwestern border with Nueva Vizcaya and Benguet.

6. Within the province of Benguet — which is mountainous except for some low-lying portions of Sablan, Kibungan, Kapangan, Trinidad, Tuba, and Itogon:

A large number of Kalanguya still live in Kabayan, in the northeast, although the majority of this municipality's population is and has long been Ibaloy.

A large number of Karaw still live in Bokod, also in the northeast, although the majority of the population in this municipality is and has long been Ibaloy.

A large number of Mandek-ey still live in Buguias, in the north, although the majority of the municipality's population is and has long been Kankanaey.

Kankanaey are also the majority in the municipalities of Mankayan, Bakun, and Kibungan, also in the north.

Kankanaey are the majority in the municipality of Kapangan, still in the north. But Ibaloy constitute a third of the population.

Ibaloy are the majority in the municipality of Atok, again in the north. But Kankanaey constitute a quarter of the population.

Ibaloy constitute the majority in the municipalities of Tublay and Sablan in the west.

Ibaloy and Kankanaey still constitute very large segments of the population in the municipalities of Trinidad, Itogon, and Tuba, in the southern half of the province – over 11,000 to each group in each municipality. As of 1990, however, they were outnumbered by Ilocano and other migrants.

Trinidad is a capital town and has been a center of agricultural trade since American colonial times. Itogon and Tuba are mining centers. And, up until recent years, when several mining operations were either shut down or mechanized, Itogon and Tuba hosted large populations of migrant workers.

Ilocano are the majority in the city of Baguio, where the indigenous Ibaloy constitute only about three percent of the population.

As may be noted above, a Kankanaey-Ibaloy mix is observable in many parts of Benguet. Historical records, as well as oral tradition, reveal that this has been the case since Spanish colonial times. Northern Kankanaey migrants to Benguet are now part of the mix – and are not distinguished by the NSO from Benguet's indigenous Kankanaey.

It is apparent from the foregoing that, with the exception of Baguio – and Itogon and Tuba as of 1990 – the more mountainous areas of the Cordillera are still predominantly occupied by their indigenous peoples, who are quite appropriately known to most Filipinos as "those of the mountains". # LAGimenez/ADRN1994/updated1997.

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The definition of the word *cordillera* [1] was derived from the Scott article reprinted in the anthology *History on the Cordillera*. In this article, Scott also briefly describes the alignment of the Cordillera's mountain ranges, but Cleto, et al. provide a fuller description [2].

Cleto, et al. cite George Dartez's *Earth Science in a Philippine Context* (1977) in identifying and characterizing the three major ranges which constitute the Gran Cordillera. To arrive at a clearer understanding of this description, and to verify the alignment of the ranges described, the NEDA-CAR topographic map was

To verify widely circulated information on Cordillera slopes and elevations [4], the Bureau of Soils and Water Management studies of the physical environments of the Cordillera provinces was referred to. Also consulted were the slope and elevation maps in the Regional Physical Framework Plan drafted by the Regional Land Use Committee.

The Cordillera's land area was estimated by doing a scale measurement of a scaled map by Ananayo in Scott's *Discovery of the Igorots*. The Cleto, et al. estimate of the land area was also referred to. [5]

Measurements of the land areas of the Cordillera provinces are conflicting. Measurements found consistently on the RLUC's maps are the ones used in this presentation. [6]

Information on the directions of drainage of the Cordillera's major river systems [7] [8] were derived from the Bureau of Soils and Water Management studies and the provincial profiles but were checked against the RLUC's river systems map and the Ananayo maps in Scott's *Discovery*.

The drainage area measurements made by the National Water Resources Council [9] were found in the SIBAT microhydro power study.

Information on Cordillera hydropower development projects [10] undertaken or attempted in the past were found in Fry and in Cleto, et al. These were checked against data on existing hydros in the Department of Energy summary of the Power Development Plan.

The Power Development Plan summary was also referred to in determining what percentage of Luzon's energy requirements would be supplied if the National Power Corporation were to succeed in implementing its schedule of newly proposed hydropower projects in the Cordillera [11].

Data on metalic mineral reserves assayed in Benguet before the province's high-grade ores were depleted came from Cleto, et al. Data in Cleto, et al. on the mineral reserves of other provinces were checked against data found in the provincial profiles and development plans [12].

More recent data on metallic mineral reserves came from the records of the Bureau of Mines and Geosciences [13].

Projections concerning metallic mineral production from 1993 to 1998 were derived from the NEDA-CAR Medium-Term Development Plan [14].

Information on the non-metallic mineral resources of the Cordillera were obtained from the records of the Bureau of Mines and Geosciences [15], and from the studies of the Bureau of Soils and Water Management as well as the provincial profiles and development plans [16].

The Bureau of Soils and Water Management studies were also the source of most of the information on Cordillera soils, but the estimates pertaining to slope and erosiveness were derived from the RLUC slope and erosion maps [17].

The RLUC land use map was the source of the data on the extent of Cordillera croplands and grasslands [18].

Plans for the further agricultural development of the Cordillera were found in the NEDA-CAR Medium Term Development Plan [19].

Cleto, et al. was the source of information on types of forests [20] and on the land area covered by forests in the past. Present forest cover data came from the RLUC land use map, checked against the RLUC vegetative cover map. [21]

All information relating to administrative boundaries set during the Spanish colonial period [22] [23] [24] [25] [26] [27] [28] were derived from Scott's *Discovery* and the Ananayo maps. All information relating to those set during the American colonial

period [29] [30] and the postcolonial period [31] [32] were derived from Fry and the maps by J. Ngai. But the insight on Marcos's reasons for splitting up the Cordillera provinces [33] between regions I and II comes from conversations with Scott.

All population statistics used in this report [34] [35] [38] [39] [41] were derived from the NSO census reports for 1990 and 1995 – although percentaging and aggregation had to be worked out from the NSO's raw figures.

Information on American colonial programs which led to population movements [36] [37] were found in Fry. The Barrows citation [40] was also found in Fry.

References for the final section of the report [42] were the NSO 1990 Census, provincial topographic maps found in Cleto, et al., linguistic data found in Scott's *Prehispanic Source Materials*, and ethnographic data found in the CDPC study on ancestral domain.

THE STATUS OF THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION IN THE CORDILLERA REGION AS INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES

The 1990 census lists the total population of the Cordillera region at 1,146,191 —up by 1.7% to 1,254,838 in 1995. Totaling the 1990 figures for mother tongues and dialects local to the region will show that, at the very least, 55% of the population are indigenous to the Cordillera.

The figure probably represents an understatement inasmuch as a significant number of native Igorots — especially those of mixed blood — are likely to have had their mother tongues listed as Ilocano, the *lingua franca* of the North. In fact, the Cordillera is, at present, the only contiguous region in the country where the majority of the population are indigenous people.

Terminology

The terms that have been used to refer to the indigenous or native peoples of the Cordillera have changed through time, and much of the change has had to do with who were employing these terms.

The Spanish colonizers took the descriptive Tagalog term *Igolot*, meaning *people of the mountains* [1], and used it with derision to refer to the entire Cordillera population whom they

were unable to effectively conquer. The term *Ygollotes* then became a discriminatory label, used with derogatory connotations — such as dirty, uncivilized, pagan, barbarians, headhunters — not only among the colonizers but also among the colonized and Christianized lowland Filipinos.

The Americans referred to the *Igorrotes* as *non-Christian tribes*, and set up their Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to deal with both the Igorots of the North and the Moros of the South after they took over from the Spaniards as the colonizers. The post-war Philippine republic had a Commission on National Integration, and the term it used was *cultural minorities*.

During the First Quarter Storm of the early 1970s, the national democratic movement introduced the term *national minorities*. It situated its usage within the Marxist analysis of the national question and, going beyond mere cultural differences, referred to the historical creation of national minorities vis a vis the majority of Filipinos. It did not limit its application of the term to those who could be called indigenous peoples. It applied the same term to the Moro peoples and other minorities in the country.

The term *tribal Filipinos* was introduced by the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines when it set up its Episcopal Commission for Tribal Filipinos in 1978 and declared the second Sunday of October as Tribal Filipino Sunday. The term tries to denote the dual character of indigenous peoples — their being "tribal" and, at the same time, being Filipino.

Other terms that have been used are *ethnic minorities*, *ethnic groups*, and *ethnolinguistic groups*. The latter two are generalized categories that make no reference to a minority-majority or a subordinate-dominant relationship. The use of these terms does not reflect the fact that Igorots and other minorities commonly identify discrimination — or their being treated as second-class Filipinos — as one of their major problems.

In 1986, after the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance lobbied the new government of Corazon Aquino for the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples to ancestral domain and regional autonomy. The CPA had adopted the term *indigenous peoples* from its participation in the international arena — specifically in the Working Group for Indigenous Populations within the UN Commission for Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council.

The WGIP was set up in 1984 to formulate international standards for the protection of the human rights of indigenous peoples. As more and more organizations and groups — including the CPA — participated in the WGIP's sessions, they evolved the term *indigenous peoples* to replace the nebulous *indigenous populations*. The participants preferred the new term because their common struggle was for the recognition of the right to self-determination, an inherent right of all peoples but not necessarily of all populations.

The participants in the WGIP use the term *indigenous peoples* to refer to native communities who have managed to maintain their traditional lifestyles notwithstanding colonization and the economic, political, and cultural intrusions and influences from the wider society outside. The participants assert that indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination, by virtue of which they should be able to freely determine their political status, and to freely pursue their economic, political, and cultural development at their own pace. The participants maintain that the persistence of age-old customs and traditions among indigenous peoples is itself an assertion of this right to self-determination.

In order not to delimit their options as they struggle for the recognition of their right to self-determination, many indigenous peoples refuse to refer to themselves as minorities. Others have rejected the term *minorities* in keeping with the current fad for "politically correct" terminology. To be politically correct these days, one must do away with all discriminatory labels and, instead, use only descriptive language that is bereft of negative

connotations — and, incidentally, of any analytical reference to antagonism and class struggle.

The CPA has faced some difficulties in its popularization of the term *indigenous peoples* in the Philippine setting. Among the questions raised are:

- But aren't all Filipinos indigenous to the Philippines?

- What term is more precise when we refer to the commonalities between the Igorot and the Moro Filipinos? The Moros cannot be classified as indigenous peoples since Islam is certainly not indigenous to the Philippines. Yet, as national minorities, the Igorots, other indigenous peoples, and the Moro peoples share many issues and problems in common.

- What is "politically correct" terminology? Politically correct from whose point of view?

What's in a name? Usually a framework behind the usage. The different terms are difficult in themselves and can only be more fully appreciated as the guiding framework is articulated.

The Igorots and the Historical Creation of National Minorities and Indigenous Peoples

Previous to colonization, what generally existed in the archipelago which the Spanish colonizers, honoring their sovereign, soon named the Philippines were small independent communities called *barangays*. These communities may be characterized in their mode of production as semi-communal and semi-slave. There was social stratification in these communities, developing with the growth of an incipient ruling class. There was trading among the communities. There was also internecine warfare.

The nomadic, hunting-and-gathering Negrito communities were different from the general run in that theirs was a more egalitarian, primitive-communal society. Different also were the expanding Moro communities, who had a more developed feudal agriculture and, in the More sultanate, a more clearly defined ruling class.

Spanish colonization provided the basis for the creation of the Filipino nation. The exploitation and oppression that they suffered in common under the yoke of colonialism made the people of previously independent barangays identify with one another and evolve a wider Filipino consciousness. The pervasive influence of Christianity on the collective culture, the establishment of a centralized State machinery, the imposition of feudalism as the mode of production; later, the improvement of transport and communication, the increase of commerce, and the growth of a local bourgeoisie and a working class — all these were factors that contributed to the wider integration of formerly independent localities and to the rise of Filipino nationalism among the colonized population.

Within the over-all territory colonized by Spain, however, there existed communities which remained unsubjugated and which, therefore, continued to enjoy independence throughout the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule. Most notable among these were the communities of the Moros down South and the Igorots up here, in the North.

From the start, the Spanish colonizers were interested in the gold that the Igorots of the Gran Cordillera traded with the lowland communities. They conducted numerous expeditions in search of the famed Igorot gold. The *Ygollotes* of the Cordillera, however, staunchly defended their independence, and they made good use of their rugged terrain to defend themselves against the gold-seeking and punitive expeditions of the colonial aggressors. So successful was their defense that, for three centuries, they generally remained outside effective colonial control. To quote from William Henry Scott [2]:

> ...during those three centuries when Spanish firearms never really conquered the lofty liberty of the Igorots, they were paying a heavy price for their independence. Moving off into more remote parts of the Cordillera, they had to pit their brawn and brains against raw nature and sterile soil. And while they learned to carve whole mountainsides into terraces to wring out a bare subsistence of living, their tribute-paying brethren in the lowlands were learning to farm like Spaniards and cook like Chinese. While Graciano Lopez Jaena was ornamenting the Spanish press with his graceful prose, and Jose Rizal was hobnobbing with European scholars in a half dozen foreign languages, their illiterate Igorot compatriots were being exhibited in the Philippine Exposition along with other native plants and animals. In their mountain...independence, the Igorots missed out on all those convenient innovations enjoyed by their conquered brethren... It was a heavy price to pay for liberty. And it is a price not yet fully paid...

Three centuries is a long time. Three centuries of a distinct experience with colonialism can spell a world of difference. And it did. It created a majority out of the colonized Filipinos who now shared more and more things in common as they suffered exploitation and oppression under Spain, and as they became exposed to the integrating developments in the economic, political, and cultural fields. It also made national minorities, or second-class Filipinos, of those who did not undergo the great economic, political, and cultural changes which the majority experienced, and who were able to retain much of their indigeous lifestyles and institutions throughout the period of Spanish colonial rule. The national minorities whom the Spaniards failed to integrate in the colonial order, and who, in varying degrees, persist to the present in their indigenous ways of life, are the ones that international parlance refers to as the indigenous peoples of the Philippines.

Filipino nationalism was asserted by large sections of the Philippine population. The expression of this nationalism grew

from sporadic uprisings and localized revolts to the nationwide 1896 revolution, which was participated in by the majority of the toiling masses but was eventually led by the incipient Filipino bourgeoisie. In this initial impetus towards Filipino nation-building, national minorities were only peripherally involved — among them, the Igorots of the Gran Cordillera.

It would be difficult to pinpoint a dominant-suboridinate or majority-minority dynamic among the baranganic communities during the historical period which preceded Spanish colonization. What has been well documented is that there existed at this time a mutually beneficial trade relationship between the population on the Cordillera uplands and those on the lowlands, on both sides of the mountain range.

It was the Spanish colonizers who fueled conflict between the Igorots and the lowlanders as part of a strategy of divide and rule. The Spaniards used colonized lowlanders in their punitive expeditions against the unsubjugated mountain tribes. Furthermore, they institutionalized a type of chauvinism which made the pagan Ygollotes the object of ridicule and contempt among the Christianized majority. The derogatory connotations associated with the word *Igorot* up to the present may be traced to this.

By institutionalizing chauvinism and undertaking genocidal punitive actions against them, the Spanish colonizers perpetrated national oppression on the Igorots and other unconquered peoples. Part of the Spanish colonial legacy was the creation of national minorities who became the subject of discrimination by, and who were relegated to a status lower than, the national majority.

The Integration of the Igorots in the Filipino Nation

Since that historical breach, the process of the integration of the national minorities in the mainstream has been ongoing. The Americans succeeded where the Spaniards did not. They were able to effectively colonize the whole Cordillera. They opened up the region, with its rich natural resources, to imperialist incursions. They subsumed the region's peoples to the colonial and semi-feudal set-up, along the way drawing the national minorities into the wider national and class structure.

Igorot participation in the First Philippine Republic. The Philippine revolution against Spanish colonialism in 1896 was aborted when Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States through the 1898 Treaty of Paris. Whereas the historical record does not bear out a significant participation of the Igorots in the Katipunan-led Philippine revolution against Spain, Cordillera communities were inevitably drawn into the war against the new colonizer.

After the Filipino revolutionaries declared Philippine independence from Spain on June 12, 1898, President Emilio Aguinaldo appointed a young General Manuel Tinio as military governor of the Ilocos provinces. Tinio was to lead an expeditionary force for the liberation of the Ilocos region from the remaining Spanish garrisons, towards helping set up the revolutionary government nationwide. The young general organized the famous Tinio Brigade. In a short span of time, the brigade succeeded in liberating not only the Ilocos region but also the *comandancias politico-militares* that the Spaniards had set-up in various parts of the Cordillera region. [3]

The revolutionary government was quickly organized in the said areas, and governors were appointed: Juan Cariño Oraa for Benguet, Pio Ancheta for Amburayan, and Sinforoso Bondad for Lepanto-Bontoc, in addition to those for the Ilocos provinces,

including Abra. Also, delegates were chosen to represent the provinces in the Malolos Congress. [4]

The First Philippine Republic was, however, short-lived. In February 1899, the Filipino-American War erupted. The Tinio Brigade distinguished itself in battle against the new colonizers. It employed guerrila warfare against the American army and continued to wage attritive attacks against the much stronger aggressor for three years. Its area of operations covered the whole of northwestern Luzon, including the four Ilocos provinces, and the western sections of Benguet and Bontoc. Thus, there are sections along the present Benguet and Mountain Province boundaries with Ilocos where part of the people's historical experience is integration in the national revolutionary movement against American colonialism in the Philippines. [5]

General Antonio Luna had recognized the strategic military value of the rugged mountainous terrain of the Gran Cordillera. He had thus proposed to locate the seat of the revolutionary government in this region. After Luna's death, the young General Gregorio del Pilar and his men defended Tirad Pass to cut off the American pursuers of the retreating President Aguinaldo, in his escape through the Cordillera.

Aguinaldo's party of some 250 troops went through Cervantes, Kayan, Sagada, and Bontoc in the present Mountain Province, and Alimit, Banaue, Mayaoyao, and Bunhian in the present province of Ifugao, then backtracked to the present province of Kalinga through Butigui, Madukayan, Dakalan, Gaang, Mangali, Taloctoc, and Mabongtot [6]. Aguinaldo was able to set up camp at Lubuagan for some months [7] before finally escaping through Cagaluan, Tabuk, and Magaogao, before finally emerging in Cagayan and going down to Palanan, Isabela, where he was finally captured.

At this time, large sections of the Cordillera population were not yet well integrated with the national majority and the revolutionary forces. As the revolutionaries retreated through the region, they demanded food and service from the communities they encountered, and ordered people to serve as porters, guides,

and the like. Because of such impositions, they were unable to win the Igorots' support. Some communities even compared them to the Spaniards and attacked the *insurrectos* as they passed through.

Although a valiant war for national liberation was waged, the Philippine revolution was soon defeated —except for pockets of resistance which persisted for three decades. The young Filipino nation was unable to assert its independence from US imperialism, which was emerging as the strongest power on earth.

US imperialist incursions into the Cordillera. With the entry of US imperialism into the Philippines came the swift disintegration of natural self-sufficient economies and their subsumption into the semi-feudal market economy. US imperialism hastened the process which had been set in motion when the Spanish feudal encomienda system was replaced by the semi-feudal hacienda system in the mid-1800s.

With the defeat of the Philippine revolution, the new colonizers were able to set-up their colonial bureaucracy over the whole territory, including those areas which Spain had not been able to fully control. The Americans won over and coopted the local ruling classes. They educated and trained scores of civil servants and encouraged the growth of a petty-bourgeois intelligentsia.

The nationalist culture which had flourished with the struggles of the emergent Filipino nation was suppressed. Instead, bourgeois, colonial, and feudal culture was disseminated through the public school system, the Protestant churches, the mass media, and other social institutions.

Whereas most of the Cordillera had managed to remain independent from Spanish colonial rule, it succumbed to American power. Through a combination of economic, political, and cultural means, the US succeeded in colonizing the whole region. The Philippine Commission, with Dean C. Worcester as

a leading member, established the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in 1901. To the BNCT, it delegated the two-fold task of conducting ethnological surveys and investigating the conditions of pagan and Moslem peoples. [8]

The Philippine Commission was especially interested in the Cordillera because of the reports it had received concerning the rich gold and copper mines of Benguet, and concerning the Igorrotes whom the Spaniards had not been able to conquer. Consequently, Barrows of the BNCT went on a six-month reconnaisance of the Cordillera to conduct an ethnographic study of the Igorots. Worcester went on a series of expeditions himself, the first of which was aimed at ascertaining the reports concerning mineral deposits in northern Benguet. Other American military and civilian officials also went on their own reconnaisance of previously unexplored territory.

A wealth of ethnological data on the Cordillera was produced during the first decade of the American occupation. The main "culture areas" which were identified by the American colonial administrators and ethnologists became the basis for the subsequent organization of the region. [9]

Very early in their regime, the new colonizers were able to assimilate the whole Cordillera into the colonial structure. In fact, the first civil government under American rule was set up in the province of Benguet as early as 1900 [10]. The province of Lepanto-Bontoc was organized in August 1902 [11] and became the nucleus to which the sub-provinces of Amburayan and Kalinga were subsequently attached, while parts of Ifugao were attached to Nueva Vizcaya, and Apayao to Cagayan.

In 1908, the colonial Philippine Commission was ready for a major reorganization of the political structures in the Cordillera region. The Mountain Province was created with seven sub-provinces: Benguet, Amburayan, Lepanto, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao. Each sub-province was assigned its own governor. The town of Bontoc, at the center of the sub-province which bore the same name, was designated the provincial capital. [12]

While all of the ethnological investigation and territorial reorganization was going on, the Gran Cordillera, and specifically Benguet province, was being subjected to imperialist intrusions and the implementaton of a development policy which identified the region as a rich resource base. The Kennon road was built, and the Halsema highway between Baguio and Bontoc soon after. Baguio was made a chartered city, to be developed as a rest and recreation center of the US armed forces, and as a summer capital of the colonial government. Large mines were opened. Logging concessions were established. There was a construction boom. Commerce and trade flourished. The public school system was introduced. Christianization made headway in the provinces through the missionary efforts of the Anglican Church of the USA and the CICM, a Belgian congregation of Roman Catholic clergy. Indigenous ways of life were totally disrupted as communities were assimilated into the wider society.

During the American period, and particularly at the time of the Philippine Commonwealth, the Igorot national minorities were effectively integrated in the Philippine national and class structure — although they also persisted in their indigenous customs and traditions.

Because it was already supposed to have learned some lessons from its bloody handling of the American Indians, the US tried to project an image of benevolence towards the indigenous peoples of the Philippines. Still, history shows that US control and occupation of the Cordillera generated an adverse impact on the region's indigenous peoples.

There was the large-scale expropriation and usurpation of ancestral lands. This was facilitated by the passage of exploitative laws, such as the Public Land Act of 1902 and the Mining Act of 1905. Extractive industries, such as the mines and timber concessions, destroyed the natural environment and displaced indigenous communities from their homelands. For a time, in some areas, the practice of indigenous customs, such as the cañao, was suppressed. Even the drinking of liquor was banned!

Notwithstanding the Americans' claims to the contrary, the anti-Igorot discrimination which had been institutionalized in the superstructure during Spanish times persisted. In 1904, a whole community of 114 Igorots and Tinggians were brought to the St. Louis Exposition, a grand exhibit which included "rare specimens of savage peoples" [13].

Thus, national oppression of the Igorots was also perpetrated by US imperialism and the local ruling classes, through the use of the institutions of the colonial machinery —but in the name of "benevolent assimilation" and development.

Continuing integration. The Japanese occupation of the Philippines was an integrating experience in the sense that the unity of the Filipino people was strengthened in the war of national liberation from the Japanese invaders. The Igorots formed an essential component of this integration. They joined the guerrilla movement in their numbers, and many distinguished themselves in battle.

In the post-war period, the process of integration of the Igorot national minorities into the wider Philippine society has continued. There have been many integrating factors, such as interests and problems shared in common with the rest of the democratic classes and sectors in Philippine society.

There are, however, distinct problems which the Igorots of the Cordillera continue to suffer: the non-recognition of their right to ancestral land; the non-recognition of the continuing validity of their indigenous socio-political structures and processes; political misrepresentation; the militarization of the region to ethnocidal scale; the commericalization and vulgarization of their indigenous cultures; the historically institutionalized discrimination, which remains unrectified up to the present time.

These are distinct problems of national oppression. Because of national oppression, the Igorots continue to be treated as

second class citizens or national minorities, and they, therefore, also persist in their struggle for self-determination and equality.

The Categorization of Igorots from the Outside vis a vis Their Self-Identification

William Henry Scott has provided us with valuable insights on the origin of the word *Igorot*. In the essay which has this subject for its title, Scott explains that the term is a combination of the prefix *i*, meaning *people from* or *dwellers in*, and *golot*, meaning *mountain chain*. Thus, in its original usage, the term *Igorot* was descriptive, used by Philippine lowlanders to refer to highlanders or people from the mountains. And the Cordillera is this—the most mountainous part of the Philippine archipelago.

It is useful to emphasize that the term has always been used by people from the outside to refer to the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera collectively. This can be traced from the pre-Spanish usage above, through the Spanish usage of *Ygollotes* or *Igorrotes*, which was picked up from the Filipino term, to the usage of *Igorots* during the American colonial period and the present.

The unwillingness of some sections of the Cordillera population to be identified by the name *Igorot* is in part a defensive reaction to discrimination and to the derogatory connotations with which the term has historically been associated. This unwillingness, however, also reflects divisions among the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera. The artificial divisions were created by US imperialism and the State, through their imposition of arbitrary boundaries which broke up the region in order to facilitate its administration.

Shifting boundaries. In the early accounts of the Spaniards, and in those of the German travellers on the Cordillera in the 19th century **[14]**, the ethnographic observations about indigenous

communities were mostly area-specific. The generic terms *Igorot* and *Tinggian* were used, though, the former to refer to peoples associated with what would later be known as the Benguet, Lepanto, Bontoc, and Ifugao areas, and the latter to peoples associated with Abra, an adjoining section of what would later be known as Kalinga, and the Ilocos-Cordillera convergence. When efforts were made to generalize wider culture areas, a village or *rancheria* would first be classified with Benguet, next time with Lepanto, then with Bontoc. Meanwhile, other vilages would first be classified with Bontoc then with Abra or with Kalinga. And Banaue would be included with Bontoc, etc.

In the early accounts, it arises that the communities had place names for their local villages, and it was with these that they identified themselves. Many did not recognize or identify with the terms that tried to group them into wider culture areas comprised of several communities and villages.

With American occupation at the turn of the century, the Barrows Ethnological Survey and the Worcester expeditions identified "culture areas" which became the basis for the American division of the Cordillera into provinces. Barrows identified seven **[15]**:

> ...the extreme northernmost...called 'Apayao'. South of this was that of the 'Kalingas'..... the Tinggian, on the middle course of the Abra River..... South of the Kalinga, the Bontok. On the west side of the Bontok people...the Lepanto...area...(whose) population is somewhat mixed...but which I think is mainly Kankanai, who also people the northern part of Benguet...(and) the entire valley of the river Amburayan..... (in southern Benguet) the Nabaloi or Ibaloi. Southeast...the Ifugao.

When the Mountain Province was created in 1908, it had the seven sub-provinces of Benguet, Lepanto, Amburayan, Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga, and Apayao **[16]**, to follow the broad strokes of Barrows' recommendations (see map, p.17 of this issue of

Pantatavalan), but with the boundaries nonetheless arbitrarily defined given the lack of a more thorough community-level ethnographic investigation. From the privilege of historical perspective, it can now be said that the subdivisions were not really all that accurate, as witness the many boundary questions at present.

Even after the consolidation of the Mountain Province into one administrative unit directly under the Insular Government, it took some time before the constituent sub-provinces and townships or municipal structures could be regularized. In 1916, the BNCT proposed that Lepanto and Amburayan be combined as one sub-province. Then in 1917, the new BNCT director recommended that the boundary lines between the Ilocos provinces and the Mountain Province be pushed eastward. This shifting of boundaries apparently jibed with the interests of certain public officials. Along with political gerrymandering, the BNCT recommendations resulted in the transfer of the town of Tagudin and the rest of Amburayan, the town of Cervantes and other parts of Lepanto, and a huge chunk of Benguet to the provinces of La Union and Ilocos Sur. What remained of Amburayan and Lepanto, which had earlier been defined as Kankanai (or Kankanaey) culture areas, became part of the sub-provinces of Benguet and Bontoc. [17]

Furthermore, the Americans had some difficulty locating the *rancherias* mentioned in Spanish records because many had disappeared or been transferred elsewhere as part of the villagers' response to wars or disease. Different settlements were combined to form larger townships, some without much basis except that they were contiguous in territory. In some cases, provincial boundaries —e.g. between Abra and Kalinga, between Abra and the Mountain Province, and between the Mountain Province and Ilocos Sur —divided tribal communities.

The organization of the townships continued, some very big, while others quite small. After the war, local elections were held towards the regularization and consolidation of the political structure. More locals were elected to public positions, unlike in

the earlier period when governance in the Cordillera was largely in the hands of the American colonizers.

In 1966, RA 4695 was passed, dividing the old Mountain Province into the four provinces of Benguet, Mountain Province (renamed from the former Bontoc), Ifugao, and Kalinga-Apayao (see map, p.19 of this issue of *Pantatavalan*). The original proposal of Congressmen Hora and Lam-en was to subdivide the old Mountain Province into its five subprovincial components. Congressman Duyan of Kalinga, however, introduced a bill to unite the subprovince of Apayao with that of Kalinga so as to make the two more economically viable. Hora, Cosalan, and Duyan were the joint proponents of the bill which was finally passed into law [18].

Whereas considerations of ethnicity guided the US colonizers in their creation of the old Mountain Province and its territorial subdivisions, it looks like this was no longer very important to the Igorot congressmen who worked for the Division Law. Nor did these congressmen give credence to the view that the passage of the law would result in divisiveness among the Igorots. The old Mountain Province had existed for less than 58 years.

Place names and territorial divisions imposed by the State, no matter the basis, acquire a reality of their own, as the dynamics of the political structure and bureaucracy become in themselves an identifying framework for the population within the designated territory. Scott aptly illustrates this point [19]:

> The provincial and sub-provincial loyalty which has since developed is one of the most impressive accomplishments of the American administration on the Cordillera, for few of the names themselves had been in general use and some of them were highly peculiar. Ifugao, for instance, is lowland mispronunciation of the common word for people in several montane languages (in Ifugao itself it means people on earth as opposed to people in the skyworld), and Kalinga means enemy in the language of their

neighbors. Even local place names have been modified in the process. The Kalingas now call themselves Kalingas, and educated people in Tongrayan, Fontok and Banawol call these places Tinglayan, Bontok and Banaue out of loyalty to Spanish misspellings and American mispronunciations.

The categorization by the Americans of culture areas or ethnolinguistic groupings, and the territorial divisions which they defined, have assumed a concrete reality for the indigenous communities. Although the local populations still largely identify themselves by their local placenames, they also now identify with and locate themselves in the larger entity of political jurisdiction, be this the town or province. Although these categories were imposed from the outside, they have become an additional reality and now serve the purpose of distinguishing one area from the other, and of differentiating the Igorots of the Cordillera from the rest of the wider Filipino population.

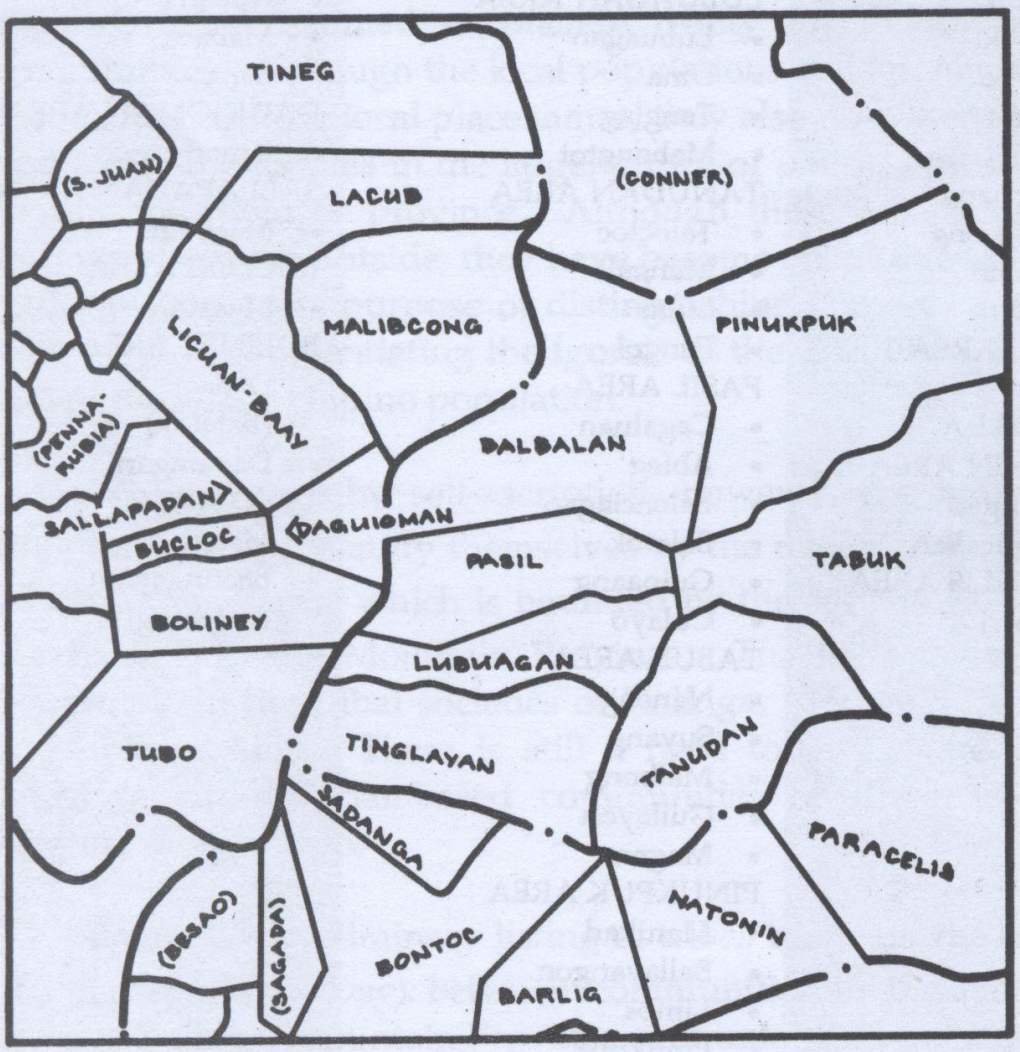
When we go by self-ascription, however, the indigenous communities still identify themselves by the names of their *ili*, or ancestral homeland, which is bounded by the *bogis* in Kalinga or the *beddeng* in the Mountain Province. The ili is more easily discernible in the tribal societies of Kalinga, Mountain Province, and upland Abra. There is still a need to investigate similar categories in the clan-based communities of Ifugao, and in Benguet and Apayao.

Below is a preliminary listing of tribes based on the forging of peacepacts (*bodong*) between communities in the *binodngan* areas of Kalinga, Mountain Province, and upland Abra. **[20]**

A PRELIMINARY LIST OF PEACEPACT FORGING TRIBES

Mountain Province	Province of Kalinga	Province of Abra
SADANGA AREA	TINGLAYAN AREA	TINEG AREA
• Betwagan-Anabel	• Butbut	• Adasen?
• Sadanga	• Basao	LACUB AREA
• Saclit	• Dananao	• Binongan
• Bikigan	• Tulgao	LICUAN-BAAY AREA
• Belwang	• Tinglayan	• Binongan
BONTOC AREA	• Sumadel	• Baay?Licuan?
• Tokukan	• Bangad	MALIBCONG AREA
• Bontok	LUBUAGAN AREA	• Gubang
• Samoki	• Lubuagan	• Mabaca
• Can-eo	• Uma	• Banao
• Mainit	• Tanglag	DAGUIOMAN AREA
• Dallic	• Mabongtot	• Banao
• Guinaang	TANUDAN AREA	SALLAPADAN AREA
• Maligcong	• Taloctoc	• Masadiit
• Talubin	• Mangali	BUCLOC AREA
• Bayyo	• Lubo	• Masadiit
BARLIG AREA	• Pangol	BOLINEY AREA
• Lias	PASIL AREA	• Danac (Balatok)
• Kadaklan	• Cagaluan	• Dao-angan
NATONIN AREA	• Ableg	TUBO AREA
• Balangao	• Balenciagao	• Maeng
• Maducayan	• Balatok	• Baclingayan (Belwang)
PARACELIS AREA	• Guinaang	
• Bacarri	• Culayo	
	TABUK AREA	
	• Naneng	
	• Suyang	
	• Malbong	
	• Guilayon	
	• Magnao	
	PINUKPUK AREA	
	• Matukad	
	• Ballayangon	
	• Limos	
	• Pinukpuk	
	• Sakpil?Sukbot?Camalog?	
	BALBALAN AREA	
	• Ab-abaan	
	• Dao-angan	
	• Poswoy	
	• Salegseg	
	• Banao	
	• Buwaya	
	• Mabaca	
	• Gubang	

A MAP OF THE MUNICIPALITIES CORRESPONDING TO
THE BINODNGAN AREAS OF THE
MOUNTAIN PROVINCE, KALINGA, AND ABRA



Persistence and Disintegration, and the Analysis of Igorot Communities

The historical process is forever in motion. Whether they like it or not, indigenous communities get pulled into wider economic, political, and cultural processes. Notwithstanding the inevitable effects of this, indigenous institutions survive in varying forms and varying degrees of persistence, both in the economic base and the superstructure.

In the economic base. Indigenous patterns of land ownership persevere throughout the region, at the same time that there is an increasing trend towards privatization based on the requirements of the State for documented titles of ownership. The contrast may be seen in the forms of land ownership in the Cordillera interior, where many of the the indigenous forms of land ownership still persist, as opposed to the urban and lowland areas, where the standard is already that imposed by the State.

The indigenous customary laws of most Cordillera communities provide that the forests and hunting grounds, the rivers and water sources, and the mineral resources are owned communally. They are, therefore, available for use by the whole community. In some areas, pasturelands are also communal property and, in others, are treated like swidden sites. Sites available for cultivating swiddens (*uma*) are generally covered by the principle of usufructuary ownership — i.e., they are open to the community but become semi-privately owned while under use by specific families. Through time, though, the more fertile and regularly cultivated swiddens (*bangkag, laplapog*) have become fully privatized, as have some pastures. It is the rice fields or terraces (*payaw, payo, payeow,* or *tallon*) which have always and everywhere in the Cordillera been privately owned. In many areas, fruit and coffee orchards have also been treated as private property.

Notwithstanding differentiation, land ownership is still situated within the ili, which is the defined territory of a

community or tribe, and which the present generation stewards for the succeeding generations. Thus, although there is a trend towards the privatization, particularly of choice land, the influence of the communal ethos is still strong, especially in the interior ili.

Underlying this communal ethos is the concept of ancestral domain, which views the given territory occupied by a given community since time immemorial as the collective heritage from the ancestors, nurtured and developed by many generations, and held in trust by the present generation for those still to come. This natural conservationist attitude of the indigenous peoples is in contradiction with bourgeois and feudal standards of land ownership, which view land and natural resources as factors of production to be exploited for profit.

People in large areas within all of the provinces in the region continue to practice traditional subsistence agriculture where production is for direct consumption and not for sale in the market. Traditional subsistence activities on the rice terraces and swiddens, livestock raising, hunting, fishing, and food gathering do not suffice, however, to meet the over-all requirements of the people, especially with their newer wants and needs. Thus, the people in all these areas combine subsistence production with production for cash. The latter includes the production of cash crops, such as coffee, beans (*bukel*), bananas, oranges, and vegetables.

The trend is conversion from subsistence production to production for cash, with the former increasingly being subsumed to the latter. This is most clearly illustrated in the swift expansion of vegetable gardens planted to temperate vegetables, such as cabbage, wombok, potatoes, carrots, tomatoes, Baguio beans, and the like. From Baguio and La Trinidad to the vegetable belt along the Halsema Highway, where production is already solely for the market, commercial vegetable growing has overrun practically the whole of Benguet and the Mountain Province, and extended into Kiangan, Hungduan, and Tinoc in Ifugao. Cash crop production has also reached southern Abra and parts of Kalinga.

Notwithstanding the uncertainties of the market and grave fluctuations in price due to comprador monopoly control, more and more people are going into temperate vegetable and fruit production as their cash source. While there is still the combination of subsistence and cash crop production in the expansion areas, the trend of increasing reliance on the market economy is clear.

Other sources of cash are handicrafts, such as weaving, basketry, and wood carving. There are also communities whose main source of cash is small-scale gold production. There are some areas, too, where the cash crop is marijuana.

In the political field. Indigenous institutions are still alive in many parts of the region. The peacepact system persists in the tribal areas of Kalinga, Abra, and sections of the Mountain Province. In some of the binodngan areas, tribal wars are still resorted to, only this time with high-powered firearms. Indigenous structures, such as the *dap-ay* in the Sagada-Besao area and the *ator* in and around Bontoc, survive up to the present time.

This is not to say that indigenous structures and processes persist in their pure form. Rather, they exist side by side with the institutions introduced from the outside, such as government, church, and school. The introduced structures, such as the barangay council, the primary school, or a church, are ubiquitous. They have had the net effect of undermining the traditional institutions and replacing these with new ones.

There are two sides to the reality of indigenous structures and processes in the Cordillera: one of persistence and one of disintegration. In the dialectics of social change, there are factors that work for persistence, and there are factors that work for disintegration. The resultant reality is different in specific areas and communities in the region, as the indigenous interacts with, adapts to, or contradicts the factors for change.

There is diversity, to start with. There are tribal communities in Kalinga, the Mountain Province, and Abra. There are clan-based societies in Ifugao. To some degree, Benguet societies are also organized around kinship. The various communities have different degrees of internal stability. Their ecosystems also have different degrees of sustainability. And over all these is the continuous flow of the historical process, with its many intrusions in the economic, political, and cultural fields.

In the face of these, it is amazing that indigenous institutions have persisted for so long. Such persistence is by itself an assertion of self-determination, a refusal to fully integrate into the oppressive semi-colonial and semi-feudal Philippine society ruled by imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism — which continue to perpetrate national oppression on the national minorities, and class exploitation and oppression on the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie, to which democratic classes the majority of Igorots belong.

Nevertheless, the trend towards the disintegration of the indigenous institutions is continuing, and at a faster and faster pace. The immutable historical process is at work and cannot be turned back!

The dialectical process in the resolution of the contradiction between the old and the new is illustrated by the different levels of transformation of the indigenous in the communities throughout the region, in accordance with the process of social change.

To start with are the indigenous communities in their original state, before the entry of Spanish colonialism followed by US imperialism, and the intrusions into the internal stability and dynamics of these communities. For a long time, notwithstanding the magnitude of the threats brought about by colonialism and imperialism, many of these indigenous communities, especially those in the interior, were able to maintain the dominance of their indigenous institutions over the

These communities, however, no matter how far-flung, have not existed in a vacuum, and have been forcefully assimilated into the wider societal order, as shown in the Cordillera experience with US imperialism at the turn of the century and continuing thereafter. Thus, while the indigenous communities and institutions have struggled to persist, they have given way, sooner or later, in the face of the assault of imperialism and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system.

The disintegration of the indigenous and its eventual transformation into something new normally undergoes the dialectical process:

- from (a), a starting dominance of the traditional over the new;
- to (b), a relative co-existence;
- then (c), a qualitative shift in the balance of power in favor of the new now being dominant over the old, at the same time that the old still remains a significant force;
- finally (d), a decisive replacement of the old by the new in all aspects, except perhaps for a lingering sentiment and self-identification.

The given internal and external factors in various communities and the principle of uneven development will explain the relative swiftness or slowness in the pace of social change. At the same time, the direction towards the transformation of the traditional, its disintegration and replacement by the new, has already been set into motion by the inevitable historical process.

It is possible to locate Cordillera communities today in such a continuum of social transformation. It is difficult, however, to identify a community where the traditional is still dominant over the new, given that all of the communities are already integrated

in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal set-up. It is easier to identify communities which have been fully transformed — for example, the old Ibaloy rancheria of Kafagway which has become the metropolitan city of Baguio.

Many of the other communities would be located at points (b) and (c) of the spectrum. Community-level social investigation is needed to determine the actual level of institutional persistence versus transformation and disintegration in these communities.

Implications for the National Democratic Movement

From the foregoing discussion, what can we see as the implications for the national democratic movement in the Cordillera region?

The indigenous peoples of the Cordillera, known collectively as Igorots, are national minorities or second class Filipinos by virtue of the discrimination and oppression that they continue to suffer under the semi-colonial and semi-feudal set-up.

The Igorots are not only indigenous peoples and national minorities. They also share common characteristics with the different classes and sectors in Philippine society, and are already largely integrated into the wider class and national structure.

National oppression of the Igorots and other national minorities is perpetrated by the ruling classes —the big landlords, comprador bourgoisie, and bureaucrat capitalists — who also perpetrate class exploitation and oppression against all of the democratic classes and sectors in the country, namely, the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, and national bourgeoisie. They do so by using the State as an instrument of class rule, and by maintaining the semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of Philippine society, in subservience to global imperialist powers.

The national minority struggle for self-determination and equality cannot and should not be separated from the class struggle of the democratic classes in Philippine society, to which the majority of national minorities belong. Thus, the Igorots of the Cordillera can and should be fully integrated into the national democratic struggle, inasmuch as their right to self-determination and equality is recognized and guaranteed in the national democratic program.

There is the need, however, to build the basis for this stronger unity between the national minorities and the national majority, given the historical bequeathal of discrimination and mutual distrust.

It is imperative for the political activists of the national democratic movement, both from among the national minorities and from among the majority, to educate themselves on the issue and work towards building this wider unity. Those from the majority should consciously guard against the chauvinism that they have imbibed through the institutions of society and rectify whatever discriminatory attitudes they still have towards the national minorities. On the other hand, there is the need also for Igorot political activists to guard against reverse chauvinism against those who come from the national majority.

For both, there is the need to overcome generations-old suspicion and distrust stemming from the divide-and-rule policy of the colonizers. Filipino nation building is still ongoing. It is the common vision of national democracy with a socialist perspective that serves as the basis for building this deeper unity and integration between the two.

Towards this goal, it is important to hold on to a historical and dialectical view of indigenous society. Otherwise, it is easy to fall into the trap of indigenism, which one-sidedly glorifies indigenous customs and traditions, even those which negatively affect the majority of the people and should therefore be condemned —for example, tribal wars.

It would be misdirected to idealize indigenous societies and unrealistically hope that these can be restored to what they once were. We should instead build on the positive aspects while criticizing and actively transforming the negative. The persisting communal ethos and mutual-help tradition, for instance, are plus factors for our socialist perspective.

In this day and age of imperialist globalization, the static, romanticized view of indigenous society as the ideal society in its pure form, one that can be kept in complete isolation from the wider society, is a myth. Imperialist globalization and the capitalist market economy have torn asunder traditional societies and coercively assimilated these into the international economic system controlled by imperialism and their bourgeois comprador and landlord partners in the Third World.

Our experience in the Cordillera clearly illustrates this point. The major struggles of the indigenous peoples here — for example, Chico, Cellophil, and the present campaign to stop open-pit mining —have been directed against World Bank-funded mega-dam projects or against multinational big business, its partners among the local compradors, new-type landlords, and bureaucrat capitalists, and its backing by the State.

The struggles of the Igorot peoples in defense of ancestral land, indigenous lifeways, and livelihood can — as they have been in the past — be contextualized within the wider class and anti-imperialist struggle. The national minorities and the democratic classes in Philippine society have common enemies and, therefore, good reason to unite in a common cause and vision.

It is important that the political activists of the national democratic movement consciously strive to build this unity between the national minorities and the national majority against common enemies. Otherwise, confusion may arise as to who the friends and the enemies of the indigenous peoples are, especially as the ruling classes try to coopt their issues and lead their struggles astray. Just look at the psy-war tactics of the US-Ramos regime.

While the present regime claims to recognize the rights of the indigenous peoples to ancestral lands and regional autonomy, it actually denies them these by opening up the whole region to foreign mining companies through the Philippine Mining Act of 1995 and other liberalization and deregulation measures which have been imposed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, as part of its demands for structural adjustments on the country's economy. Furthermore, the regime continues to destroy indigenous communities through the implementation of destructive projects, such as the San Roque multipurpose dam.

In the past and up to the present, the reactionaries have tried to cover up the class nature of national oppression and exploitation by coopting certain individuals and groups from among the indigenous peoples who have then been used as pawns against the interests of their own people. They have been given government positions, allowed to enjoy monetary gain, and ecouraged to "speak" for indigenous peoples. Actually, they have misrepresented their peoples' causes and stance, and instead colluded with the ruling classes.

The US-Ramos regime's scheme to set up the Cordillera Autonomous Region is precisely meant to accomodate the traditional politicians and the local ruling classes, who will then make use of their positions to ram through the plans of the US-Ramos regime while enriching themselves further. The regime and its lackeys among the local elite are also making use of pseudo-revolutionary groups like the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) to further deceive and confuse the people.

The US-Ramos regime is not much different from the Marcos dictatorship in terms of wanting to exploit the rich natural resources of the region for the benefit of neither the indigenous peoples nor the rest of the Filipino people but of imperialist, comprador bourgeois, and big landlord interests. The regime continued to perpatrate national oppression on the national minorities of the Cordillera. The US-Ramos regime is better than the Marcos dictatorship only in terms of making a better attempt

at deception by mouthing the slogans that had been popularized earlier by the national democratic movement in the region and by utilizing such groups as the CPLA.

There is no recourse except to persevere in the struggle for self-determination and equality, and to do so within the wider revolution for national democracy with a socialist perspective. # Joanna K. Cariño/1994 , 1997.

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